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PREFACE.

THIS book is on the same lines as the more elementary *Groundwork of English History* by the same author, but is of a more advanced character, being intended for use in middle forms of schools and by candidates preparing for the Senior Local and other examinations of the same standard.

The author's aim throughout has been to present the main facts of English history in a lucid and intelligible manner, without the intrusion of unnecessary detail, but with a view to their relative importance and in such a way as to encourage the further study of the subject in more advanced text-books.

The requirements of modern history teaching have been steadily kept in view. The relation of historical events as cause and effect is insisted upon, and chapters showing the chief developments, period by period, are introduced at regular intervals. In the belief that it is desirable for young people to have a sufficient knowledge of recent history to enable them to understand contemporary events, the work has been brought down to the death of King Edward VII.

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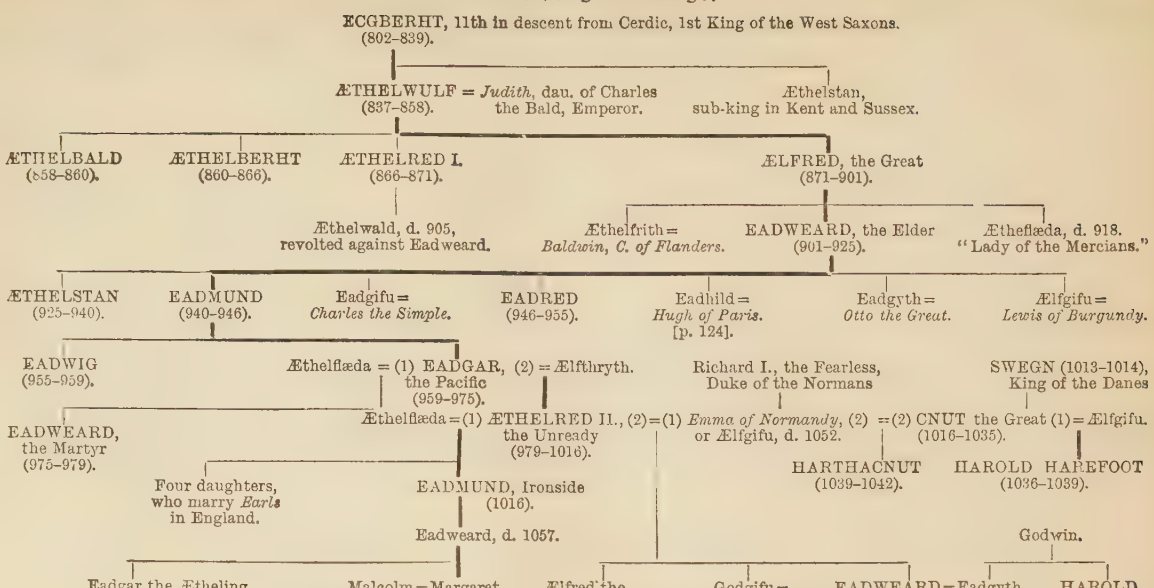
England and Wales in 886.

England and Wales in 1643.

England and Wales in 1644-1651.

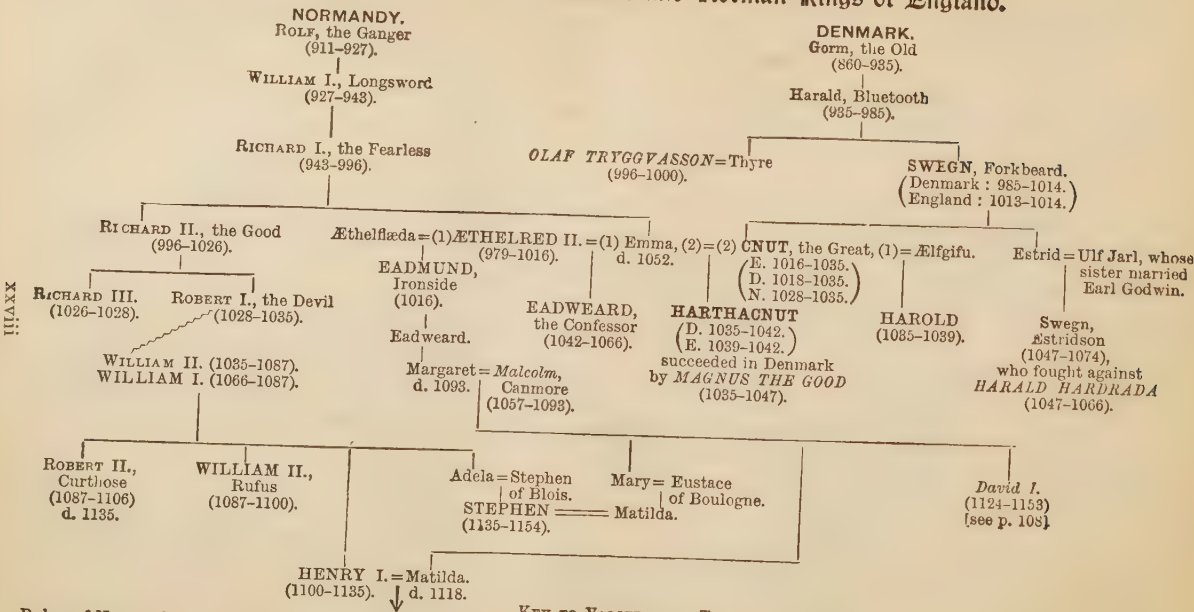
British, French, and Spanish Possessions in North America, 1756

The Old English Kings.


ECGBERHT, 11th in descent from Cerdic, 1st King of the West Saxons. (802–839).
ÆTHELWULF (837–858).
Judith, dau. of Charles the Bald, Emperor.
Æthelstan, sub-king in Kent and Sussex.
ÆTHELBALD (858–860).
ÆTHELBERHT (860–866).
ÆTHELRED I. (866–871).
ÆLFRED, the Great (871–901).
Æthelwald, d. 905, revolted against Eadweard.
Æthelfrith = Baldwin, C. of Flanders.
EADWEARD, the Elder (901–925).
Æthelflæda, d. 918. "Lady of the Mercians."
ÆTHELSTAN (925–940).
EADMUND (940–946).
Eadgifu = Charles the Simple.
EADRED (946–955).
Eadhild = Hugh of Paris. [p. 124].
Eadgyth = Otto the Great.
Ælfgifu = Lewis of Burgundy.
EADWIG (955–959).
Æthelflæda = (1) EADGAR, the Pacific (959–975).
(2) = Ælfthryth.
Richard I., the Fearless, Duke of the Normans
SWEGN (1013–1014), King of the Danes
EADWEARD, the Martyr (975–979).
Æthelflæda = (1) ÆTHELRED II., the Unready (979–1016).
(2) = (1) Emma of Normandy, or Ælfgifu, d. 1052.
(2) = CNUT the Great (1016–1035).
(1) = Ælfgifu.
HARTHACNUT (1039–1042).
HAROLD HAREFOOT (1036–1039).
Four daughters, who marry Earls in England.
EADMUND, Ironside (1016).
Eadweard, d. 1057.
Godwin.
Eadgar the Ætheling, d. 1120.
Malcolm = K. of the Scots.
Margaret, d. 1093.
Ælfred the Ætheling, d. 1036.
Godgifu = Eustace of Boulogne.
EADWEARD the Confessor (1042–1066).
= Eadgyth, d. 1075.
HAROLD (1066).
HENRY I. (1100–1135)
= Eadgyth, or Matilda.
Mary = Eustace.

NOTE.—The above Table shows: (1) in CAPITALS, all the West Saxon, ater English, kings from Ecgberht to Harold—the dates in brackets marking the limits of their reigns; (2) in *italics*, eight notable marriage connections between those kings and Continental rulers; (3) by thick rules, the line of descent from Ecgberht to Victoria as far as Henry I. From one of Harold's daughters is descended the Dowager Queen Alexandra. The family connections of the Norman Dukes and Danish Kings are shown more fully on p. xxviii.

Family Connections of the Danish and Norman Kings of England.


NORMANDY.
Rolf, the Ganger (911–927).
William I., Longsword (927–943).
Richard I., the Fearless (943–996).
Richard II., the Good (996–1026).
Richard III. (1026–1028).
Robert I., the Devil (1028–1035).
William II. (1035–1087).
WILLIAM I. (1066–1087).
Robert II., Curthose (1087–1106) d. 1135.
WILLIAM II., Rufus (1087–1100).
HENRY I. (1100–1135).
Matilda. d. 1118.
Æthelflæda
(1)ÆTHELRED II. (979–1016).
EADMUND, Ironside (1016).
Eadweard.
Margaret = Malcolm, Canmore (1057–1093).
d. 1093.
(1) Emma, d. 1052.
(2)
EADWEARD, the Confessor (1042–1066).
Adela = Stephen of Blois.
STEPHEN (1135–1154).
Matilda.
Mary = Eustace of Boulogne.
DENMARK.
Gorm, the Old (860–935).
Harald, Bluetooth (935–985).
OLAF TRYGGVASSON = Thyre (996–1000).
SWEGN, Forkbeard. (Denmark : 985–1014. England : 1013–1014.)
(2) CNUT, the Great, (E. 1016–1035. D. 1018–1035. N. 1028–1035.)
HARTHACNUT (D. 1035–1042. E. 1039–1042.) succeeded in Denmark by MAGNUS THE GOOD (1035–1047).
(1) Ælfgifu.
HAROLD (1035–1039).
Estrid = Ulf Jarl, whose sister married Earl Godwin.
Swegn, Estridson (1047–1074), who fought against HARALD HARDRADA (1047–1066).
David I. (1124–1153) [see p. 108]

KEY TO VARIETIES OF TYPE.

Dukes of Normandy ... SMALL CAPITALS.
Kings of England ... ... LARGE CAPITALS
Kings of Denmark ... ... Dark type.
Kings of Scotland ... ... *Small italics.*
Kings of Norway ... ... *ITALIC CAPITALS.*
} Rulers of both countries in DARK CAPITALS.

Similarity of type calls attention to close connection of the two countries.
The three Norwegian Kings shown were all descended from *HARALD FAIRHAIR.* [(863–932). the Unifier

English Kings from William I. to Henry IV.

WILLIAM I., the Conqueror (1066–1087).

Robert, Curthose, Duke of Normandy (1087–1106), d. 1135.
- William Clito, C. of Flanders, d. 1128.

WILLIAM II., Rufus (1087–1100).
- Robert, E. of Gloucester, d. 1147.

HENRY I., Beauclerc (1100–1135). = Matilda, dau. of *MALCOLM III.*
- Henry V. = (1) Matilda, d. 1167. (2) = Geoffrey, E. of Anjou (1129–1151).
  - Eleanor, D. of Acquitaine. = HENRY II. (1154–1189).

Adela = Stephen of Blois.
- STEPHEN (1135–1154).
  - Eustace, d. 1153.
  - William, d. 1159.
- Henry, Bp. of Winchester, d. 1155.

Henry, d. 1183.

RICHARD I., Lion Heart, (1189–1199).

Geoffrey = Constance d. 1186. of Brittany.
- Arthur, d. 1203.
- Eleanor, d. 1241.

Hadwisa = (1) JOHN, (2) = Isabella of Gloucester. Lackland, (1199–1216). of Angoulême.

Matilda = Henry the Lion, D. of Saxony.
- Otto IV. (1198–1212).

HENRY III. = Eleanor (1216–1272). of Provence.

Richard, D. of Cornwall, chosen Emperor, d. 1272.

Joan = *ALEXANDER II.* (1214–1249).

Isabel = Frederick II. (1212–1250).

William the Marshal. = (1) Eleanor (2) = Simon de Montfort. E. of Leicester

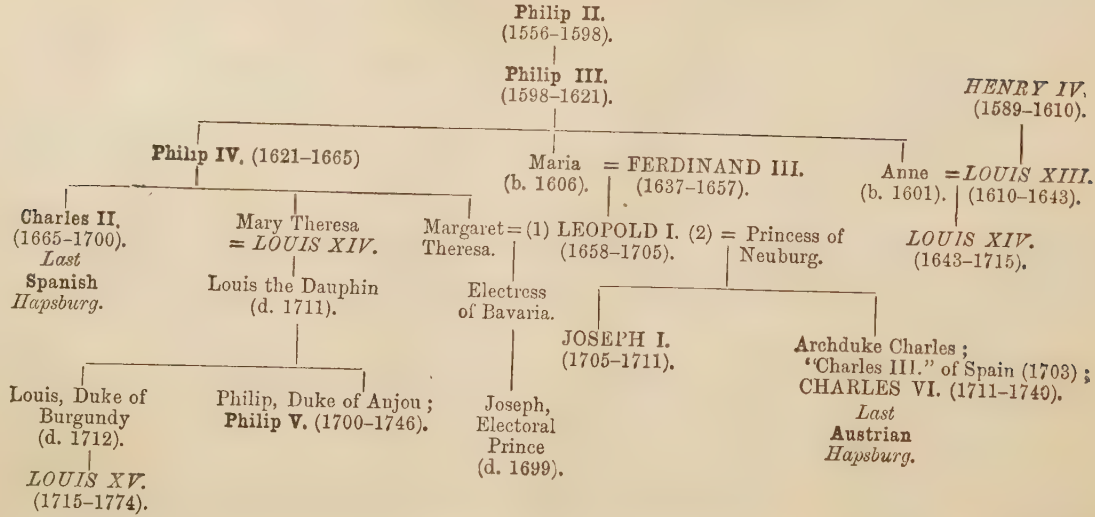
Margaret = (2) EDWARD I., Longshanks (1272–1307). (1) = Eleanor of Castile.
- Edmund, E. of Kent, d. 1330.
  - Joan of Kent (3) = Edward, the Black Prince.
    - Anne = (1) RICHARD II. (1377–1399). (2) = Isabella of France, whose sister Katharine = HENRY V.
- EDWARD II. = Isabella (1307–1327). of France.
  - EDWARD III. = Philippa (1327–1377). of Hainault.
    - John of Gaunt, D. of Lancaster, d. 1399. = Blanche.
      - HENRY IV. (1399–1413).

Edmund, Crouchback, E. of Chester, Lancaster, and Leicester, d. 1295.
- Thomas, E. of Lancaster, Derby, and Leicester, d. 1321.
- Henry, Wryneck, E. of Lancaster, etc., d. 1345.
  - Henry, Grismond, D. of Lancaster, d. 1362.

Margaret = *ALEXANDER III.* (1249–1286).
- Margaret = Eric, K. of Norway (1281–1299).
  - Margaret, Maid of Norway, d. 1290.

NOTE.—English Kings, LARGE CAPITALS; Roman Emperors, **dark type**; Scots Kings, *ITALIC CAPITALS*. Black rules show the descent of Victoria, from William I. to Edward III. Dates within brackets mark the period within which the annexed title was held.

Pedigree Illustrating the Spanish Succession.


Philip II. (1556–1598).
Philip III. (1598–1621).
HENRY IV. (1589–1610).
Philip IV. (1621–1665)
Maria (b. 1606).
= FERDINAND III. (1637–1657).
Anne (b. 1601).
= LOUIS XIII. (1610–1643).
LOUIS XIV. (1643–1715).
Charles II. (1665–1700). Last Spanish Hapsburg.
Mary Theresa = LOUIS XIV.
Louis the Dauphin (d. 1711).
Margaret Theresa.
= (1) LEOPOLD I. (1658–1705).
(2) = Princess of Neuburg.
Electress of Bavaria.
JOSEPH I. (1705–1711).
Archduke Charles; "Charles III." of Spain (1703); CHARLES VI. (1711–1740). Last Austrian Hapsburg.
Louis, Duke of Burgundy (d. 1712).
LOUIS XV. (1715–1774).
Philip, Duke of Anjou; Philip V. (1700–1746).
Joseph, Electoral Prince (d. 1699).

NOTE.—The double dates within parentheses give the periods during which a title is held; the Emperors are in ROMAN CAPITALS; the French Sovereigns in *ITALIC CAPITALS*; the Spanish Sovereigns in **dark type**.

SCHOOL HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

§ I. **Proportion in History.**—Our knowledge of past times and the intrinsic importance of the events of different years vary infinitely. Generally speaking, as we approach our own days, we not only have fuller records of what happened, but also have more interest in what happened, because it has a more obvious connection with the circumstances in which we ourselves now live and move. Without any real disproportion, therefore, we are able to cover the first thousand years of our history in a sixth part of the space assigned to the whole of the period with which we are concerned in this volume.

§ II. **Britain before the English, to 410 A.D.**—The first division of our first book will briefly set forth the successive settlements of these islands by various uncivilised peoples in prehistoric times, and the occupation of South Britain in historic times by the armies of civilised Rome. These far-off ages are not wholly unconnected with our present surroundings; the British Empire of to-day includes descendants of those prehistoric peoples, and owes much to Rome as a pioneer of civilisation.

§ III. **The Making of England, 410-979.**—Our second division will show how various hordes of Teutonic adventurers crossed from Germany to Britain and won homes for themselves there; how, partly under the influence of

Christianity, partly through the ambition of kings, and partly under pressure of the Danish invasions, the several English settlements attained political unity in South Britain; and how, during the same period, a similar measure of political unity in North Britain was attained by the union of Picts, Scots, and English into the historic kingdom of Scotland.

§ IV. **England under Foreign Kings, 979-1216.**—Our third division will show how this England, thus loosely bound together by her native kings, was welded into a united kingdom by a succession of foreign rulers—first a Danish dynasty, then a Norman dynasty, and lastly an Angevin dynasty. The main results of this discipline were to sever England from her connection with North Europe and bring her into closer touch with Central Europe—especially France and Rome—and to create her first effective system of uniform and central government.

§ V. **The Rise of Parliament, 1216-1327.**—Our second book, besides giving an account of Edward I.'s premature attempt to effect the political unity of the whole British Isles, will show how the well-to-do classes obtained, through Parliament, a voice in the control of the central government built up in England by Norman and Angevin despots.

§ VI. **The Hundred Years' War, 1327-1485.**—Our third book will show how the failure of the English kings in their attempt to conquer France (1338-1453) left England a prey to civil war (1450-1485), but also left her free from continental connections.

§ VII. **The Tudor Period, 1485-1603.**—Our fourth book will set forth the successful attempts of the Tudor monarchs to restore order in England and to secure her civil and ecclesiastical independence against the attacks of foreign potentates—ecclesiastical as well as civil.

§ VIII. **The Puritan Revolution, 1603-1660.**—Our fifth book will treat of the international and constitutional relations of an England whose ruler now, for the first time, bore sway over the whole of the British Isles, and over colonies beyond the sea; it will demonstrate also the inability of King and Parliament to do without each other, though they quarrelled so violently as to appeal to arms.

§ IX. **The Protestant Revolution, 1660-1688.**—Our sixth book will show how the attempt of two Stuart kings to impose their religion, Roman Catholicism, on a hostile majority, led to the substitution of a parliamentary monarchy for personal kingship.

§ X. **The Rise of Party-Government, 1688-1754.**—Our seventh book will deal with the struggle of the "United Kingdom of Great Britain" (1707) to maintain the Protestant Succession and to obtain trade facilities, in a series of wars against the House of Bourbon; it will also show how the great landowners, who had brought about the Revolution of 1688, obtained a veiled but effective control over both King and Parliament.

§ XI. **The Making and Re-making of Empire, 1754-1793.**—Our eighth book will recount the acquisition of great territories in Canada and India, the severance of the older colonies in America from the Mother Country, the partial restoration of royal authority by George III., the grant of legislative independence to Ireland, and the establishment of the first British colony in Australia.

§ XII. **The Great War and the Industrial Revolution, 1793-1837.**—Our ninth book will tell the story of the great international struggle which sprang from the French Revolution of 1789, and of the great constitutional struggle

which was the outcome of industrial changes within Great Britain, and which brought about on the one hand the reform of Parliament, and on the other hand the beginnings of factory legislation.

§ XIII. **The Victorian Age, 1837-1865.**—Our tenth book will trace the growth of social and political reform in the Victorian Era. The chief stages in this development were the grant of self-government to the larger and more prosperous colonies ; a further extension of the franchise, and of factory legislation ; and the establishment of Free Trade and national compulsory education. This book will also show the extension of British territory during the period in distant parts of the world.

§ XIV. **The Victorian Age and after, 1865-1910.**—Our eleventh book will sketch the extension of the franchise, the reform of local government, the rapid alternation of party-ministries within "the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland" (1800), the grants of self-government to the British Colonies, and the progress of the Irish Home Rule movement. All these developments serve to illustrate the growth of democracy in the Victorian Era.

BOOK I., DIVISION I.

BRITAIN BEFORE THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. **History of the Land.**—The history of a nation has two chief factors: the character of the race or races which compose it, and the nature of its country. This book follows the more usual custom and begins with the history of the land, rather than with that of the people who gave it its historic name. Our political[1] history is incomplete without an account of the races who lived here before the coming of the English. And our Constitutional[2] history, though it owes them no direct debt, was not unaffected by their struggles with their Saxon conquerors. Our history, moreover, has been influenced to a most important and to a very unusual extent by the geographical formation and situation of England.

Geographical Formation and Situation of Great Britain.—At one time this country formed part of the continent of Europe, but long before the beginning of recorded history it was separated from the mainland by narrow arms of sea. It became an island, well protected on all sides by the ocean, difficult to approach and easy to defend. To this fact it has owed much of its prosperity. The strength of their natural boundaries and their consequent peace and security enabled the English to develop a strong

[1] Political = belonging to a nation or state.

[2] Constitutional = relating to the constitution; constitution = a system of laws, rules, principles and traditions regulating the government of a state.

government and to attain national unity at an earlier date than their neighbours upon the Continent. At the same time the nearness of England to the mainland kept them in touch with the intellectual life and thought of Europe. From a commercial point of view, the geographical position of England was unfavourable before the discovery of the New World. The Mediterranean was then the centre of European commerce and civilisation. England was "the utmost corner of the West"[1] and stood on the outside "limits of the known."[2] With the discovery of the West Indies England, though still at "the end of the Old World,"[2] found herself, by virtue of her position upon the Atlantic, "at the beginning of the New,"[2] and she finally became the centre of communication between the New and the Old.

§ 2. **Internal Geography of the British Isles.**—The sea which separated Great Britain and Ireland divided what should have been one country into two. It also made the larger island a long and narrow strip which lent itself easily to further division. This tendency to separation has been strengthened by the fact that the mountainous districts of England and Wales lie between Ireland and the English lowlands. Hilly regions almost separate the latter from the lowlands of Scotland; while the Scottish Highlands form a still more inaccessible district in the extreme north. This separation of the British Isles has not been an unmixed evil, for it has promoted energy by developing varieties of character; but it has been in some respects a source of weakness, and from the outset the English kings have instinctively aimed at the formation of a united kingdom.

[1] Shakespeare's *King John*.
[2] H. J. Mackinder's *Britain and the British Seas*.

CHAPTER I.

§ 3. **Unwritten History**: (*a*) **This Country before its Separation from the Continent.**—The little that is known of this country while it was still a part of the mainland of Europe has been learnt from geological records. That the now extinct mammoth, the woolly rhinoceros, the cave-lion, and the river-horse lived here in those far-off ages, we know from the fact that their bones have been discovered in rocky deposits of a very ancient date. Mixed with these relics of beasts, larger than any now known to us, traces of human life have been found in the shape of rough weapons and implements made of stone. Because of these stone weapons, historians have called this primitive race *Paleolithic Man*, or the men of the Old Stone Age. That they were quite uncivilised is clear from the rudeness of their handleless weapons, and from the fact that they apparently made their homes in river-drifts and lived exclusively by hunting. But there would seem to have been also a later and a slightly more civilised race in the Old Stone Age; a race of men who, though they lived like their predecessors by hunting, made their homes in caves and knew how to put handles to their weapons.

(*b*) **Britain after its Separation from the Continent. The Distribution of Population.**—A change of climate, which covered the whole land with ice, seems to have destroyed the Men of the Old Stone Age and the great beasts who bore them company. When it was again populated this country was already an island. As the English lowlands of the south and east were the parts most open

to invasion, they were naturally populated first; but with each influx of fresh peoples, the earlier inhabitants were pushed westward until they were compelled to take refuge among the hills of Wales, in the Highlands of Scotland, and across the sea in remoter Ireland. The earliest invaders to affect British history were the Iberians, who belonged to a race which once inhabited a large part of Western Europe. Though their tools and weapons were polished and fairly well shaped, they were still made of stone. Historians accordingly distinguish them from their predecessors by the name of *Neolithic Man*, or the men of the New Stone Age. They spun wool and made garments of the cloth; and they manufactured a kind of rough pottery. They were not exterminated by the next settlers; and their type of skull and figure is to be seen in parts of South Wales to-day.

(*c*) **The Men of the Bronze Age.**—The Iberians were followed by successive waves of Celtic immigration. The first comers were distinguished from the others by the name of Goidels or Gaels. It is probable that they originally settled in Southern Britain, but if so they were driven west by the next invaders, the Britons. At any rate, it is only in the Isle of Man, in Ireland, and in the Highlands of Scotland that Gaelic is now spoken. The Britons were followed by the Gauls and the Belgae, the latter people coming from in or about the region which is now Belgium. Their bronze weapons gave the Celts an immediate advantage, and soon enabled them to reduce their predecessors to subjection.

§ 4. **Written History. Intercourse of Britain with the Civilised World.**—We have now reached the stage when our written history begins. The name "Bretanic Isles" first occurs in a geographical treatise written by the Greek philosopher Aristotle, or one of his pupils, towards the middle of the fourth century B.C. But the earliest descrip-

tive account of the British Isles is that of the Greek explorer Pytheas: unfortunately only fragments of this remain. He visited the islands in 330 B.C., and was impressed by the abundance of the Kentish harvest. Two hundred years later, Posidonius of Rhodes bore witness to the fact that tin from British mines was being sent through Gaul to the Mediterranean. Indeed, the most notable points about our history in the 275 years which followed the visit of Pytheas are the regular commerce which was being carried on between this country and Gaul, and the migration of the Belgic tribes from Gaul to South Britain.

§ 5. **Invasions of Julius Caesar.**—During this period the Republic of Rome subdued all the countries lying about the Mediterranean Sea, and then began conquests further afield. About sixty years before the beginning of the Christian era, Julius Caesar undertook the conquest of "all Gaul." This brought him very near the British Isles, the inhabitants of which were sending aid to their kinsmen across the water. Hence, in 55 B.C., he invaded Britain; but he found it difficult to land and still more difficult to maintain his foothold. So, as winter was approaching, he retired. The following year he came again. Landing somewhere near Deal, he defeated the Cantii—a tribe whose name survives in the county name of Kent—and pushed on up the Thames.

The chief opposition to him was organised by Cassivelaunus, king of the Catuvellauni, and also head-king over several subject tribes. One of these minor tribes, the Trinobantes, by deserting to the invaders helped to bring about Caesar's victory and the submission of Cassivelaunus. Caesar then withdrew, contenting himself with exacting tribute and a promise not to send help to the Gauls. For nearly a century afterwards Rome was occupied with internal struggles and changes of government, and Britain remained undisturbed. During this period

NOTE – The direction of the principal Roman roads is known, but their names are disputed. The nomenclature here adopted is not accepted by all authorities.

Cunobelin, who was the origin of Shakespeare's "radiant Cymbeline" and is supposed to have been the grandson of Cassivelaunus, was the most notable figure in British history.

Caesar's Account of Britain.—The earliest connected account of the British Isles was written by Caesar in the fourth and fifth books of his *Gallic War*. His description chiefly relates to the part nearest Gaul, for he knew nothing definite about the northern part of Britain, and little of Ireland. He noted, among other things, that there were a large population and abundance of cattle; that all the Britons had a tribal organisation; that in every branch of life they were much under the influence of the Druids or priests; and that these Druids offered human beings in sacrifice, and taught the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. He commented on the skill of the Britons in managing their war-chariots, and on the fact that the island was called Albion because of its white cliffs. He observed that the money in use consisted partly of gold coin and partly of iron bars adjusted to a fixed weight; that there were tin and iron mines, and that there was timber of every kind, as in Gaul, except the beech and the pine. And he added:—

"The island is triangular in shape, one side of it facing Gaul. . . . Of all these peoples by far the most civilised are those who inhabit Cantium, a district the whole of which borders on the sea, and their customs are not very different from those of Gaul. The inland peoples as a rule do not sow corn, but live on milk and flesh, and are clad in skins. But all the Britons stain themselves with woad, which produces a blue colour, and thus they are more alarming to look on in battle."

§ 6. **Roman Conquest of Britain.**—As a Roman historian[1] observed, nothing helped the Romans more in their conquest of Britain than the disunion of the Celtic tribes.

[1] Tacitus' *Agricola*, c. xii.

When the Romans returned to Britain, they found the help of the Regni as useful against the sons of Cunobelin —Togidumnus and Caractacus—as Caesar had found that of the Trinobantes against Cassivelaunus. Rome had by this time ceased to be a Republic, and had become an Empire. The Emperor Claudius was on the throne, and the conquest of Britain was achieved by two of his generals —Aulus Plautius and Ostorius Scapula.

The former conquered South Britain ; the latter extended the Roman rule over the midlands, and as far west as the river Severn. He also succeeded in capturing Caractacus, head of the Catuvellauni. He sent the British chief a prisoner to Rome, where his quiet dignity attracted the notice of the Empress and led to his release. Caractacus, when he saw Rome, is said to have marvelled that a nation possessed of such magnificence should have coveted his humble cottage in Britain.

In the reign of the Emperor Nero, Suetonius Paullinus, as Governor of this island, dealt the power of the Druids a blow from which they never recovered. He attacked and slew them in their centre, the island of Mona (Anglesey), from which they had been encouraging and inspiring the opposition to Rome. While he was thus engaged, the most formidable revolt of the Britons against the Roman power took place. The Iceni, exasperated by ill-treatment at the hands of the Roman officials, rose in rebellion, and are reputed to have slain 70,000 Romans in their wrath. They were led by their Queen, Boadicea, whom the Romans had beaten with rods, and whose daughters they had cruelly ill-used. Suetonius Paullinus hurriedly returned from the west, and completely defeated the Britons headed by Boadicea herself. The Queen took poison rather than fall into the victor's hands.

Limits and Nature of the Roman Occupation of Britain. —A famous general—Agricola—whose civilising work in

Britain has been fully described by his son-in-law Tacitus, extended the Roman frontier as far north as the Firths of Forth and Clyde, between which he built a line of forts as a protection against the Caledonians.[1] But for all practical purposes, the true limits of Roman rule northwards were drawn by a wall known as Hadrian's Wall, built by the Emperor Hadrian between the mouth of the Tyne and the Solway Firth, and strengthened at a later date by the Emperor Severus.

The western limits of Roman power were marked by the forts of Deva (Chester), Viriconium (Wroxeter), and Isca Silurum (Caerleon), which were built by Ostorius Scapula. The inscriptions on Roman tombstones are nearly all military, and tend to prove that the Roman occupation was as incomplete in its nature as the conquest was partial in extent. It was indeed a military occupation, not unlike that of the English in India to-day.

§ 7. **Effects of Roman Rule in Britain.**—The Romans introduced their art, their architecture, their laws, and, at a later date, their Christianity into the British Isles. They built theatres, baths, and villas, the like of which for comfort and luxury the Britons had never seen. They cleared away forests, they drained marshes, and they made the land so fertile that Britain was styled "the Granary of the North." They intersected the country with great roads, wide, straight, and well drained. They brought to the Britons the civilisation and the luxury of Rome. Roman rule meant for the Britons greater peace and greater prosperity, more comforts and fewer hardships. It meant also a government which, though stern, was essentially just, for the Roman system of justice was the most perfect the world had known. And it connected the

[1] The name by which the Romans called the earliest inhabitants of Britain, who had retreated into the fastnesses of the north.

Britons with the Roman Imperial system, which was the great unifying force in the political and, more permanently, in the religious life of Europe. The Britons on their part presented Rome with an emperor, Constantine the Great, who was born at the Roman garrison of Eboracum (York) of a British mother and a Roman father; a British martyr Alban gained a place among the Saints of the Catholic Church, and British bishops appeared at the Church Council at Arles.

The Roman occupation of Britain lasted some 367 years. At the end of that time the Romans left Britain, and their civilisation gradually disappeared before the coming of the English. Roman law, art, architecture, and language alike suffered extinction. The Christian religion survived in a localised and insular form—cut off from the rest of Christendom by the great mass of Pagan England—to play a part at a later date in the conversion of the English. The most enduring and most valuable legacy left by the Romans to Britain was the network of great roads, by means of which they opened up the country to trade and civilisation. The sites of their towns and strong forts were, moreover, so well chosen that some of them are important centres at the present day. Their words *castra* (camp), or its Welsh form *caer*, and *strata* (street), as parts of many English place-names, *e.g.* Chester, Ancaster, Caerleon, and Stratford, bear witness to the fact that the place was once a Roman camp or station on a military road.

§ 8. **Departure of the Romans.**—In the fourth century, civil strife and constant warfare were sapping the strength of the Roman Empire, and its hold on Britain was beginning to slacken. All the frontiers of Rome were liable to be attacked by *barbarians*, as the Romans called the heathen tribes who dwelt beyond their boundaries; and Britain, like the other Roman provinces, suffered frequent invasion. In the north the inroads of the Picts (as the

Caledonians were now called) and the Scots (Gaels from the north of Ireland) had to be constantly checked. In the south there were still more formidable foes—the Saxons from the shores of the North Sea. A high military official, called the Count of the Saxon Shore, was appointed to defend the south-eastern coast, but he could do little to stem the tide of invasion. Roman military officials, moreover, used the power their command gave them in order to make themselves independent. Thus Carausius and Allectus usurped the government of Britain, and a century later Maximus and Constantinus went even farther and took their troops over to the mainland in the hope of winning the Imperial throne.

The Empire was by this time so hard pressed by the barbarian tribes on its frontier that it could not find troops to take the place of the garrisons which had been removed from Britain. When the Britons implored the Emperor Honorius to send them aid against the Saxons, he replied that they must look to their own defence. This refusal of Honorius (410) marks the end of the British subjection to Rome; though nearly forty years later the Britons were still sending a desperate appeal for help. "The barbarians," they said, "drive us into the sea; the sea drives us back on to the barbarians; between them we have but the choice of two kinds of death—slaughter or drowning."

Chronology of Chief Events.

Pytheas visits Britain, 330 B.C.
Coming of Julius Caesar, 55 B.C.
Conquests of Aulus Plautius, 43 A.D.
Conquests of Ostorius Scapula, 47-51.
Rising of Boadicea and capture of Mona by Paullinus, 61.
Britain under Agricola, 78-84.
Emperor Hadrian visits Britain, 121.
First Carausius, and then Allectus, usurp the government of Britain, 284-305.
Constantine the Great, Emperor of Rome, 306-337.
Refusal of Honorius to help the Britons, 410.

BOOK I., DIVISION II.

THE MAKING OF ENGLAND, 410-979.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 9. **General Survey.**—The Roman Empire, before Britain ceased to be a part of it, had divided into two sections, which were seldom again united. The East Roman Empire, the capital of which was fixed at Constantinople, maintained its existence as a Christian State until 1453, when it was absorbed into the Turkish Empire. The West Roman Empire, which had no fixed capital, was partitioned by its barbarian invaders in the fifth century. Its line of Emperors came to an end in 476; but three centuries later the name of Roman Emperor was revived in the West, where it survived for a thousand years (until 1806). Out of the ruins of this Empire all the modern States of Western Europe were formed. In its general features the history of the British Isles is akin to that of the continental nations. Britain, like the Western mainland, was successively overrun by heathen tribes, mainly of Teutonic race, re-christianised, ravaged by Northmen, and consolidated into national kingdoms which, though politically independent, still recognised the religious authority of Rome.

§ 10. (*a*) **The Wandering of the Nations.**—The Teutonic migrations into Britain were only a few out of many similar wanderings of the age. Towards the end of the fourth century, probably owing to the pressure of the Huns and other Mongol immigrants from Asia, various tribes, who may be described as Teutons or Germans, but

who did not necessarily belong to the same race, swarmed into the Roman Empire, and in the western portion they succeeded in making a number of settlements.

These invading hordes of Germans seem to have been characterised by vigorous bodies, a healthy home life, simple institutions, and great loyalty to their chiefs. In Italy, in Gaul, and in Spain, where Roman influence was strongest, they were absorbed by the people they conquered; they adopted the law and the language of Rome, and they now form a part of what are called the Latin or Romance nations. But in Britain and in the valleys of the Rhine and the Danube, the incompletely Romanised portions of the Roman Empire, they kept their own language, if not always their own laws. All alike, however, accepted the Christian religion before the end of the eighth century, and acknowledged the spiritual authority of Rome. Indeed, the religious power of the Papacy was at this time the sole bond which held Western Europe together, and it was at the initiative of the Pope that the Roman Empire in the West was revived in the person of the Frankish King, Charles the Great (800).

(*b*) **Attacks of Saracens and Danes, and Rise of Strong Monarchies.**—Before the converted Germans had fully settled down and become civilised, they were disturbed by still later comers. The tribes bordering on the Mediterranean were attacked by the Saracens, the followers of the Arab prophet Muhammad (d. 632). The tribes near the Atlantic were subject to the raids of the savage sea-pirates of the North. The ravages of the Northmen were at their worst during the ninth century. They helped to destroy the revived Roman Empire on the mainland, and they checked for a time the growing unity of South Britain —a unity, however, more ecclesiastical than civil. But eventually they too adopted Christianity and were absorbed by the peoples among whom they settled.

The permanent effect of their attacks was to unite the nations whom they ravaged, and to make powerful national kings of the tribal chiefs who headed the resistance to them. Hence the tenth century witnessed the growth in Western Europe of large and strong monarchies. Otto the Great, the Saxon King of the Germans, once more revived the Roman Empire (962); Hugh Capet became King of the West Franks (France) in 987, and the great West Saxon kings effected the union of the English. In imitation of their contemporaries on the Continent, Edward the Elder, Aethelstan, and Edgar assumed imperial titles, by which they meant to imply not only that they ruled all the English, but also that they claimed supremacy over all the peoples of Britain.

CHAPTER II., PART I.

The Coming and Christianisation of the English.

§ 11. (*a*) **The English Invasion.**—The wording of the *Groans of the Britons*—"the barbarians drive us to the sea"—seems to suggest that the attacks of the Picts and Scots were at first more alarming than those of the Germans. In that case there may be some truth in the legend which states that the Germans, under their leaders Hengist and Horsa, originally came to England at the request of Vortigern, King of Kent, to help him against the Picts. But our knowledge of this period, including the date (449) at which the Germans are supposed to have landed, rests on no contemporary evidence. It is even uncertain whether King Arthur, the hero of the struggles of the Britons against the invaders, was a real or an imaginary person. We know only that the Germans were making settlements in the Frankish kingdom in the middle of the fifth century, and that they entered Britain about the same time. That they met with a determined resistance from the Britons is proved by the ruin and slaughter which accompanied their advance, and by the slow progress of the conquest.

(*b*) **The English in their German Home.**—Very little also is known of the English before their coming to England. They were probably in much the same stage of development as Tacitus, the biographer of Agricola, described in his *Germania*. Each tribe consisted of a number of small village communities, headed by an elected chief, whom Tacitus calls *princeps*, and the English themselves *ealdorman*

in time of peace and *heretoga* in time of war. In each community there were two classes, the free and the unfree. The free class contained a few men of noble blood (eorls), and a large number of men who were not nobles (ceorls). The occupation of the former was fighting, and of the latter agriculture. The eorls formed a kind of body-guard round their chief. They were his companions (comites or gesiths). They defended him even unto death, and it was considered a disgrace for them to survive him in battle. He in return fed them as their lord (hlaford = loaf-ward).

The unfree class (theows) consisted of debtors, captives in war, and those who, in days when famine was more common than now, had "sold themselves for bread." All the freemen of the community (folc) had a voice in the general management of its affairs, but for ordinary purposes the chief consulted with the wise men (witan). The English were marked by a hatred of town life, and by the closeness of their tie of kinship.

§ 12. **Settlement of the English.**—The German invaders of England came from the lowlands lying about the mouth of the Elbe in three divisions, each representing a different tribe. The Jutes were the first to arrive. Their conquests were not very extensive, and they settled down in Kent. The Saxons, who followed them in point of time, occupied the rest of the south of England. The Angles, who came last, made the most extensive settlements. They gradually peopled the north-east and the midlands, and ultimately gave their name to the country.

The division of England among the different tribes was mainly determined by its geographical features. The East Saxons were confined to Essex by the Lea Marshes and Epping Forest, while the natural highway of the Thames was blocked for a long time by the fortress of London. The great forest of the Andredsweald barred the way inland to both the South Saxons and the Jutes of Kent, and the

East Angles were unable to pass the Fens. The contest for supremacy lay therefore between the tribes who were capable of expansion at the expense of the British—the Angles of Northumbria, those of Mercia who advanced up the Trent, and the West Saxons who landed in Hampshire. But their progress was hindered by the fierce opposition of the Britons. Thus the advance of the West Saxons was checked for a generation owing to the defeat, possibly by King Arthur, of their leader Cerdic at Mons Badon (Badbury in Dorset).

Under Cerdic's grandson, Ceawlin, they again extended their conquests. He reached the Severn Sea by his important victory at Deorham, near Bath, but his further progress was stopped by a severe defeat at Fethanlea (Faddiley, near Chester). Thirty-six years after the West Saxon victory at Deorham, the Angles of Northumbria won an equally important victory over the Britons at Chester. These two battles brought the English to the western sea and broke the Britons into three masses—the West Welsh of Damnonia (Cornwall and Devon), the North Welsh of Cambria (Wales), and the Welsh of Cumbria (Cumberland or Strathclyde). The war against these three divisions was carried on by Wessex, Mercia, and Northumbria respectively. Wessex did its work the most thoroughly, reaching the Land's End under Egbert. It would appear that in its later stages the struggle between the English and the Britons was not so ruthless as it had been in the beginning, and probably, except in the extreme south-east, there was considerable intermarriage.

§ 13. (*a*) **The English after the Conquest.**—After they had settled down the English still displayed the same characteristics as before. There was the same division of classes into free and unfree, the same weak central power, the same popular government, the same hatred of walled towns. But the migration had not left them altogether

unchanged. In the long struggle which ensued, the ealdorman or heretoga had gradually obtained higher and more permanent powers until he finally reached the royal state and assumed the title of king. The various folk, too, had united to some extent by the close of the ninth century and formed a number of kingdoms, the chief of which were Wessex in the south, Mercia in the midlands, and Northumbria in the north. The main interest of Anglo-Saxon history during the seventh and eighth centuries lies in the struggle for supremacy, which took place among these three kingdoms. First, however, the little kingdom of Kent, the earliest to be settled and the nearest to the Continent, took a leading position, and gained considerable renown as the introducer of Christianity to the English.

(*b*) **Kent and the Conversion of the English.**—In the fifth century the Scots in Ireland were converted by the Britons. In the sixth century Celtic missionaries preached the Gospel to the Picts of North Britain. It was not until the seventh century that the Celts so far forgot their hostility to the English as to feel some concern for the welfare of their enemies' souls. In the meantime England had learnt Christianity from another source. The Benedictine monk Augustine landed in Kent as early as 597. He was sent by Pope Gregory the Great, who had meditated the conversion of the English from the day when, as a young man, he had seen English boys in the slave-market at Rome, and, struck by their fair faces, had called them "not Angles, but Angels."

Circumstances favoured Augustine's mission. At that time, Aethelbert of Kent was the most powerful of the English kings, and his marriage with Bertha, the Christian daughter of the Frankish King who reigned at Paris, had already prepared the way for the introduction of Christianity. Aethelbert's conversion was followed by the conversion,

after his death, of the kingdoms of Essex and Northumbria by Mellitus and Paullinus. Northumbria relapsed into heathenism after the death of Edwin (see below), but was reconverted under Oswald by Celtic missionaries from Iona, of whom Aidan was chief. It, too, sent forth missionaries—Birinus to Wessex and Chad to Mercia.

The Strife of the Nations.

§ 14. (*a*) **The Supremacy of Northumbria, 593-685.**—The decline of Kent was followed by the rise of Northumbria. This was a long and narrow strip of country stretching from the Firth of Forth to the Humber. Originally consisting of two kingdoms, it had become one in 588, but its geographical formation prevented a real union, and without unity it was necessarily weak. Northumbrian supremacy, therefore, frequently succumbed to the military power of Mercia. Thus Edwin, the great King under whom Christianity was introduced, fell in battle against Penda, the heathen King of Mercia, at Heathfield (Hatfield), and his successor Oswald was killed in a struggle with the same King at Maserfield. After a temporary division into its two former parts, the kingdom was again united under Oswiu, who won a notable victory for Northumbria and for Christianity by defeating the Mercians at the battle of Winwaed, where their famous King Penda met his death.

In the reign of Oswiu the disputes between the Celtic missionaries of the north and the Roman missionaries of the south, which had existed since the days of Augustine, became acute. They observed Easter at different times, and the clergy had their heads shaved in different ways. Oswiu called a Church assembly at Whitby to settle these points, and it decided in favour of the Roman customs. The King, it is said, threw all his influence on the side of Rome, because

he was told that it had the sanction of St. Peter, and he was afraid that St. Peter, as the keeper of the keys of Heaven, might otherwise shut him out of Paradise.

(*b*) **The Work of Theodore of Tarsus, 668-690.**—In order to enforce all over England the uniformity in ritual and doctrine established by the Synod of Whitby, the next Archbishop of Canterbury, Theodore of Tarsus, created a similar uniformity in Church government. For this reason he has been called the second founder of the English Church. In several respects his reforms prepared the way for the political union of the whole country. He created fixed dioceses with permanent cathedrals, which survived the changes of the tribal kingdoms, thus making the bishop a member of the national system instead of the spiritual leader of a tribe; and he summoned a general synod at Hertford which, as the first council representing all the English peoples, was a model for the national assemblies of the future.

(*c*) **Character of Northumbrian Supremacy.**—The power of Northumbria was always more spiritual than material, and its literary and religious influence remained when its temporal power had passed away. Its monasteries of Wearmouth and of Jarrow were long the centres of Anglo-Saxon learning. It produced the first of English poets in Caedmon, and the first of English historians in Baeda, "the Venerable Bede." In his quiet cell at Jarrow, Bede not only translated part of the Bible into English, but also wrote in Latin that *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation* which forms our main authority for the story of the settlement and the conversion of the English. His life was a life of incessant labour, and he dictated the closing sentence of his last book to one of his scholars as he lay dying. The Venerable Bede's was only the most famous of many famous Northumbrian names. English history contains no record of saintlier lives than those of

the selfless missionary Aidan, of Chad, of the Abbess Hilda of Whitby, the patroness of Caedmon, the first English poet, and of Cuthbert of Durham, "the apostle of the Lowlands."

(*d*) **The Supremacy of Mercia, 685-825.** — The Mercian supremacy, which followed that of Northumbria, was personal and intermittent. The country had neither a stable civil organisation nor a good frontier, and was therefore ill-adapted for permanent power. Under a strong king Mercia took a leading part, but at his death it immediately sank again to a subordinate position. The power destroyed by the death of Penda was restored by Wulfhere, only to be lost again in the battle of Wanborough against Ine of Wessex. It was revived by Aethelbald, a nephew of Penda. He overran Wessex, and acquired so much power that he claimed to be "King not only of the Mercians, but also of all the folks that are called by the general name of South English,"[1] and he assumed the somewhat inaccurate, though prophetic, title of **Rex Britanniae.**

The greatest of Mercian monarchs was Offa. His victory over Wessex at Bensington enabled him to add the West Saxon territories north of the Thames to his dominions; and a victory over the Welsh gave him not only a new frontier fortress in Shrewsbury, but also a claim to national leadership. He defined the new boundary by an earthen rampart drawn from the mouth of the Dee to that of the Wye, which is still known as Offa's Dyke. He also persuaded the Pope to make the Diocese of Lichfield an archbishopric with authority over the whole kingdom of Mercia. This third Archbishopric, while increasing the dignity of Mercia, would not only have involved the break-up of the ecclesiastical unity which Theodore had achieved, but

[1] Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus.*

have retarded the union of England; it was fortunately short-lived. Such was Offa's fame that he was treated as an equal by the greatest monarch of Western Europe—Charles the Great, the Frankish King who afterwards became Roman Emperor. After his death the supremacy of Mercia was continued under Cenwulf. It was finally brought to a close by the West Saxon victory of Ellandun (825).

Chronology of Chief Events.

Coming of the English, 449.
Defeat of the West Saxons by the Welsh at Mons Badon, 520.
Victory of the West Saxons over the Welsh at Deorham, 577.
Defeat of the West Saxons by the Britons at Faddiley, 584.
Coming of Augustine, 597.
Northumbrian victory over Welsh at Chester, 613.
Conversion of Northumbria by Paullinus, 627.
Penda's defeat of Eadwin at Heathfield, 633.
Aidan's missionary work in Northumbria, 634.
Conversion of Wessex by Birinus, 635.
Penda's defeat of Oswald at Maserfield, 642.
Cedd's missionary work in Essex, 653.
Chad's missionary work in Mercia, 653.
Defeat and death of Penda at Winwaed, 655.
Synod of Whitby, 664.
Council of Hertford, 673.
The Venerable Bede, 673-735.
West Saxon victory over Mercia at Wanborough, 715.
Offa, King of Mercia, 757-796.
West Saxon victory over Mercia at Ellandun, 825.

CHAPTER II., PART II.

The Coming of the Danes and the Consolidation of the English.

§ 15. **Main Stages in the Attacks of the Northmen.**—Towards the close of the eighth century the warring English tribes were attacked by a foreign enemy. The people of Norway and Denmark, collectively termed Northmen, began to ravage the coasts of Europe, impelled by love of adventure and of plunder, and by the inability of their barren coasts to support a growing population. It was chiefly the Danes with whom England had to deal, and it was in 787, when Offa was still King of the Mercians, that "the first ships of the Danish men sought the land of the English."[1]

The history of the Danish invasions of England falls naturally into three divisions. There was a period of plunder, a period of settlement, and, after an interval of a century, a period of conquest. The plunder and settlement were the work of adventurers, acting either independently or collectively under chiefs. The conquest was a national invasion conducted by Danish kings, and ending in the annexation of England to the Danish Empire. At first the Saxons were utterly unable to resist the raiders. The Danes were superior in arms and in mobility. They came for plunder only, and disappeared when their object was achieved. By seizing all the horses within reach, they could penetrate far inland, and return to their ships before the English had time to summon the fyrd (militia). The

[1] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

Danes had no settlements on which the English could retaliate, and, if they were cut off from their ships, they fortified themselves in camps, and waited until the fyrd melted away for lack of provisions, or from the necessity of returning home to till the fields. The thegnhood, by which name the groups of personal followers of the lords were now known, was the only force fitted to cope with them, and as yet it was but a small body.

§ 16. (*a*) **The Rise of Wessex.**—In the beginning of the ninth century, Wessex emerged from the period of anarchy which had followed the death of Ine, and under a succession of great kings became strong enough to head the resistance to the Danes. The first of these kings was Egbert. He had learnt many lessons in the art of government while in exile at the Court of Charles the Great, and when the West Saxons summoned him to be their king in 802, he at once undertook the organisation of the kingdom. He next defeated the Mercians at Ellandun, obtained the submission of all the English kingdoms, and, finally, after winning a great victory over the South Welsh and Danes at Hengistesdun, resigned his crown. Like his contemporary and model, Charles the Great, he divided his realm among his sons, giving Wessex and the greatest power to the eldest, Aethelwulf.

It was during the reign of Aethelwulf that the Danes first wintered in England—in Sheppey. This step marks the beginning of the second period of the Danish invasion—the period of settlement. Aethelwulf in the same year married Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, King of the West Franks and son of Charles the Great; but the alliance, though an expression of sympathy, led to no mutual aid against the common foe. In the time of the three elder sons of Aethelwulf, Aethelbald, Aethelbert and Aethelred, the Danes ravaged southern Northumbria and Mercia, slew Edmund, King of East Anglia, in the town

which bears his name—Bury St. Edmunds—and even raided Winchester, the capital of Wessex. In the year 871 they pitched their camp at Reading with the intention of subduing Wessex. "In that year nine folk-fights were fought south of the Thames and many a raid that is not numbered,"[1] and Aethelred, the third son of Aethelwulf, fell in battle at Ashdown and was succeeded by his youngest brother Alfred.

(*b*) **Alfred the Great.**—The King who now ascended the throne of Wessex most justly deserved his title of "Great." To "live worthily" was, as he himself said, the constant aim of his life. He was at once a scholar and a statesman, a warrior and a saint. He shrank neither from toil nor from danger, and he thought no effort too hard, no sacrifice too great, to be made for Wessex or for England. When he became King, the Danes were at the height of their power. They gave him, however, a few years' respite before they swept down upon him, captured his stronghold of Chippenham, and compelled him to take refuge at Athelney, in the marshes of the Parret. From this shelter Alfred, having organised his forces, came forth to defeat the Danes at Ethandun, and to besiege and starve them into surrender at Chippenham. He compelled their leader Guthrum to accept the *Treaty of Wedmore*, by which the boundary between Guthrum's kingdom and Alfred's was defined, and the former promised to receive baptism, and to leave Alfred unmolested for the future.

Some raids on the part of Guthrum's followers, however, gave Alfred an opportunity a few years later of adding London to his possessions, Guthrum being forced to agree to a revision of the treaty. The revised treaty thus fixed the border-line—"upon the Thames and then up the Lea, and along the Lea unto its source, then right to Bedford

[1] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

and up on the Ouse unto Watling Street." The greater part of the Anglian settlements in Britain were left to Danish rule and became known as the *Danelagh* (or Danelaw). This name included, besides Guthrum's kingdom, Deira and the "Five Boroughs"[1] of Danish Mercia. Alfred was thus practically compelled to abandon his claim to the overlordship of England, but he obtained in return undivided possession of Wessex, Kent, Sussex, part of Essex, and half Mercia.

(*c*) **The Work of Alfred.**—In the peace which followed this victory, Alfred strengthened his kingdom in every possible way. With unerring military wisdom, he saw the weak points in the English resistance to the Danes, and attempted to remedy them. He enlarged the thegnhood, he began to fortify towns, he built a fleet to cope with the Danes at sea, and he re-organised the fyrd, dividing it into two parts, so that one might take the field while the other remained at home to till the land. The efficiency of his work was shown by the comparative ease with which he repulsed after a five years' struggle (893-7) a fresh Danish invasion under a chief called Hæsten or Hasting.

In the departments of law and justice he also did good work. He selected and codified the best laws of his predecessors, and he supervised and examined the judgments of the local courts. He did much to revive religion and learning, which had almost perished with the destruction of the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow by the Danes. He may also be regarded as the founder of English prose. He translated into English many of the best-known works of the time, notably Bede's *History*, and he began the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the earliest historical narrative in a modern tongue. He founded new monasteries in place of those destroyed by the Danes; and he invited learned men to his Court, for, as one of them said,

[1] Stamford, Leicester, Derby, Nottingham, Lincoln.

"he was affable and pleasant to all and curiously eager to investigate things unknown."[1]

(*d*) **Results of the Danish Invasions and Settlements.**—The direct results of the Danish settlements were less important than the indirect. The Danes virtually belonged to the same race as the Anglo-Saxons; they were in much the same state of civilisation as the English had been three centuries before, and they speedily adopted the English institutions, language, and religion. Their direct influence consisted chiefly in the introduction of a few new words into the English language in the parts where they settled,[2] and in the addition of a rougher, stronger, and perhaps freer element into the English character, especially in the east; while their sea-faring habits helped to develop maritime commerce.

At first they produced a reaction by breaking up the growing union of England, and by destroying much of the English civilisation, but in the long run they were, though indirectly, an aid to progress. The necessities of a common defence drew Church and State together, thereby increasing the importance of the clergy, and it compelled the establishment of the more efficient military and political organisation which was afterwards known as Feudalism. In the course of the struggle the old tribal jealousies began to die out. The way was thus prepared for the West Saxon re-conquest of the Danelagh, and for the union of England under the West Saxon kings.

(*e*) **The Conquest of the Danelagh and the Imperial Claims of Wessex.**—Alfred's wars had been purely defensive; his children, Edward the Elder and Aethelflaeda, "the Lady of the Mercians,"[3] assumed the offensive, and

[1] Asser's *Life of Alfred.*

[2] Traceable by terminations, *e.g.* "by," = Anglo-Saxon "burgh," in the place-names.

[3] Widow of Aethelred, ealdorman of Western Mercia.

began the re-conquest of the Danelagh. They built fortresses to protect their frontiers and to secure their conquests, and before Aethelflaeda's death they had taken two of the Five Boroughs. The other three fell within the next six years, and in the same time Edward received the submission of Essex and East Anglia. It is said that not only the Danes and the English of Northumbria, but also the Britons of Strathclyde and the Picts and Scots of North Britain—now united under one king—acknowledged his overlordship.

Whether this is true or not, the sons of Edward certainly called themselves "Caesar" and "Basileus totius Britanniae,"[1] and enforced their claims to the title by arms. In the great battle of Brunanburgh Aethelstan crushed the Scots and Strathclyde Britons, who had tried to throw off his yoke. Edmund conquered the northern part of Strathclyde, and gave it to the Scottish king on condition that he should be his fellow-worker by sea and land. Eadred defeated an attempt on the part of Northumbria to assert its independence. So powerful were the three kings that their sisters were taken in marriage by the greatest princes on the Continent.

The supremacy of Wessex over the other tribal kingdoms was now finally established. The victory was largely due to its geographical formation. It was a region of great military value. The series of good roads which led outwards from its centre Winchester made it an excellent starting-point for offensive warfare; while its boundaries and the refuge afforded by its hill-districts, its forests, and its fens made it equally good for defensive purposes. But its victory was also ensured by the fact that the other parts of England looked to Wessex to defend them against the Danes, who, moreover, treated Wessex as the ruling

[1] *Caesar:* the title of the head of the Western Empire. *Basileus* = King (Greek). *Totius Britanniae* = of the whole of Britain.

part of England. Above all the success of Wessex was due to the long line of great kings who, from the accession of Egbert to the death of Edgar, ruled the land.

(*f*) **Edgar and Dunstan.**—On the death of Eadred the throne passed successively to Edmund's sons, Eadwig and Edgar. Eadwig, unlike the majority of the kings of the House of Wessex, quarrelled with the clergy, and was deserted by most of his subjects before his death. Edgar on the contrary was popular. He followed the example of his ablest predecessors in maintaining a close alliance with the Church. His chief adviser was Dunstan, Abbot of Glastonbury and Archbishop of Canterbury, the first of many distinguished ecclesiastical statesmen. The joint policy of Edgar and Dunstan was essentially one of peace. By giving the great families considerable local power the king avoided coming into conflict with them—a policy successful at the time, but likely to have dangerous consequences under a weak king.

Dunstan continued the work of Alfred by refounding the monasteries destroyed by the Danes, and trying to make them once more schools of devotion and learning. He also endeavoured to reform monastic life by bringing the monks under the strict rule of St. Benedict.[1] The good order which Edgar maintained in his kingdom and the freedom from revolt which his tactful policy ensured won him the name of "the peaceful" king. His power was so great that he is said to have been rowed on the river Dee by six tributary kings.

§ 17. **The Tenth-Century Constitution of England.**—The prolonged struggle with the Welsh and the Danes naturally effected great changes in the institutions and customs which the English had brought with them from Germany. The organisation of society was tending to become territorial,

[1] Benedict of Nursia in Italy (480-543).

or in other words rights and duties were increasingly dependent on the holding of land, which was given in return for service or granted on condition of future service. The king's warrior-gesiths, or thegns, were rewarded with landed estates and became an official nobility, which quite overshadowed the old nobility of blood; and the ordinary freeman, in fear of the Danes, sought to "commend" himself to some powerful thegn, that is to say, he offered his land and his services to a lord in return for protection.

When England was united under the West Saxon kings, the district of each ancient folk was treated as a shire and the folk-moot became a shire-moot, except in land re-conquered from the Danes, in which artificial shires were created.[1] No new popular assembly sprang up to be to the whole realm what the folk-moot had been to the original folk. In a kingdom which reached from Exeter to Hexham it was impossible for all the freemen to meet together for deliberation. The king governed, therefore, with the help of a meeting of "wise men" (Witan, Witenagemot), who were either bishops, ealdormen, or personal friends of the king. This assembly had no very great powers. It could elect a king within the limits of the royal family, and occasionally it deposed a king for misgovernment. But in practice its duty was merely that of giving the king counsel, and the good administration of the realm, which Alfred and his great successors had built up, depended not on the system of government, but on the personal character of the king.

[1] The artificial shires—*e.g.* Oxfordshire—can be distinguished from the others—*e.g.* Middlesex, the land of the Middle Saxons—by the fact that they take their name from their chief town and not from a folk.

Chronology of Chief Events.

Coming of the Danes, 787.
Accession of Egbert, 802.
Egbert defeats the Mercians at Ellandun, 825.
Egbert defeats the South Welsh and Danes at Hengistesdun, 836.
Accession of Aethelwulf, 839.
Danes winter in Sheppey, 855.
Reigns of Aethelwulf's three elder sons, 858-871.
Accession of Alfred, 871.
Alfred defeats Danes at Ethandun, 878.
Treaty of Wedmore, 878.
Accession of Edward the Elder, 901.
Accession of Aethelstan, 925.
Aethelstan's victory at Brunanburgh, 937.
Accession of Edmund, 940.
Accession of Eadred, 946.
Accession of Edgar, 959.

BOOK I., DIVISION III.

ENGLAND UNDER FOREIGN KINGS, 979-1216.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 18. (*a*) **The Foreign Kings of England.**—In spite of the success of Wessex her rulers found it difficult to secure the loyalty of the other districts. No native tribal king could really hold England together, and the weakness of the country led to a succession of foreign kings, who finally brought England into close connection with the Continent and made her a united nation. Under Cnut, King of the Danes, she became a part of the Scandinavian Empire. But this northern Empire fell to pieces with the death of Cnut. The reign of another English king, Edward the Confessor, was the scene of a prolonged struggle between English, Scandinavian, and Norman influences, which ended after his death in the conquest of England by William, Duke of Normandy.

The Norman Conquest forms one of the great landmarks of English history. It definitely removed England as a state from the circle of the Northern kingdoms to that of Central Europe, and it brought the English Church into closer dependence on Rome. Its effect on the internal history of the country was even more important. The Scandinavian kings of England had failed to solve the problem of central government, but William the Conqueror and his successors succeeded in arresting all tendencies to disunion. Norman pressure united the Saxon and Danish tribes; the Angevin kings treated Normans and Saxons

alike; the break-up of the Angevin continental Empire completed the fusion of these two races by leaving England an independent kingdom; and Norman and Angevin kings together substituted for the loose empire of the English native kings a compact kingdom with an efficient central government. To understand their work, however, it is first necessary to know the meaning of the name Feudalism or the Feudal System.

(*b*) **Feudalism.**—Feudalism was the name given to a system of government based on a double foundation of land-holding on the one hand and loyalty and service on the other. It belonged to an early stage of civilisation when agriculture was the chief industry, and when land was consequently the chief form of property; when there was no strong centralised state capable of keeping order; and when a strong man with many retainers—or, as in practice it came to be, a powerful landowner with many tenants—was at once the best protector of property and the most effective local ruler, or instrument of government. Such was the condition of Europe during the centuries which followed the destruction of the Roman State. Each lord was judge, military captain, and protector, as well as landlord, to his tenants, and conversely all tenants owed to their lord suit at his court, military service at his summons, and advice at his councils.

The same principle of land and protection in return for service and loyalty held good at the top of the social scale as at the bottom. It regulated the relations of the great barons and the king, who was considered the supreme landowner of all the land of the kingdom; and those of the peasants with the lords from whom they held their small plots of land in return for labour-service. Thus between the lower ranks and the king came a series of lords and overlords. Each lord possessed rights and powers of private war, private jurisdiction, private coinage,

and private prisons, and was bound only by the duties which as vassal he owed his overlord. The overlord in turn was powerful only in so far as he could secure the loyalty of his vassals. Hence the unity of the country depended on the personal influence of the king with his barons; and the good government of a district on the personal power of its overlord, or, if he were weak, on the goodwill of the lesser lords, his vassals.

In England the feudal system was much less complete than on the Continent. The various elements which combined to form it reached their highest point of development at different times. Thus feudal justice was most complete before the Norman Conquest, but the military system and the system of land-tenure were more completely feudal afterwards than before. The English owed the fact that they obtained an efficient central government at a much earlier date than their neighbours on the Continent, in part to the incompleteness of the feudal system in England, in part to the freedom from invasion, which was the outcome of their country's insular position; but most of all to the ability of their Norman and Angevin kings. The foreign kings of England, though they made feudal land-tenure universal and completed the feudal organisation of society, steadily set themselves to destroy feudal jurisdiction, and to assert their own undivided authority over the kingdom.

CHAPTER III., PART I.

THE DANISH KINGS AND THE ENGLISH RESTORATION, 979-1066.

CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

EASTERN EMPIRE.	WESTERN EMPIRE.	PAPACY.	FRANCE.	SCOTLAND.
Basil II. (969-1025)	Revived by Otto I. (962)	Benedict VII. (974)	Lothar (954)	Kenneth II. (971)
Constantine IX. (976-1028)	Otto II. (973)	John XIV. (983)	Louis V. (986)	Constantine IV. (995)
	Otto III. (983)	John XV. (985)	*Last* Carling.	Kenneth III. (997)
		Gregory V. (996)	Hugh Capet (987)	
		John XVI. ? (996)	Robert (996)	Malcolm II. (997)
	Henry II. (1002)	Sylvester II. (999)		
Romanus III. (1028)		John XVII. (1003)		
Michael IV. (1034)	Conrad II. (1024)	John XVIII. (1003)		
Michael V. (1041)	Henry III. (1039)	Sergius IV. (1009)	Henry I. (1031)	Duncan I. (1034)
Constantine X. (1042)		Benedict VIII. (1012)		Macbeth (1040)
Theodora (1054)		John XIX. (1024)		
Michael VI. (1056)	Henry IV. (1056-1106)	Benedict IX. (1033)		Malcolm III. *Canmore* (1057-1093)
Isaac I. (1057)		Gregory VI. (1045)		
Constantine XI. (1059)		Clement II. (1046)		
		Damasus II. (1048)		
		Leo IX. (1048)		
		Victor II. (1054)		
		Stephen IX. (1057)		
		Benedict X. (1058)		
		Nicolas II. (1059)	Philip I. (1060-1108)	
		Alexander II. (1061)		

§ 19. (*a*) **Aethelred and the Danes.**—During the reign of Edgar's son Aethelred the invasions of the Danes were renewed and soon developed into an attempt at a systematic conquest. Aethelred well deserved his title of "Unready," or ill-advised. He came to the throne through the murder of his half-brother Edward (whom men called "the Martyr"), and his reign was unfortunate throughout, its disasters being continually increased by the

personal incapacity of the King. Among other things he adopted the futile policy of trying to buy off the Danes. It gave him a respite, it is true, but, as he did not employ the interval in the re-organisation of his defences, this proved worse than useless in the long run. The Northmen merely returned to demand a higher sum, and in twenty years the Danegeld had risen five-fold. The money was raised by the new device of a general land-tax imposed by the authority of the Witan on the kingdom.

Aethelred next had recourse to a foreign alliance. In 1002 he married Emma, daughter of Richard the Fearless, Duke of Normandy. The marriage, though it brought him no positive strength, at least deprived the wild Northmen of their rallying-ground among their more civilised kinsmen on the Seine. Any good results which the alliance might have had were, however, effectually destroyed by Aethelred's next step. On St. Brice's Day in the same year he ordered a general massacre of the Danes who had recently settled in Wessex. The massacre only gave the invaders an additional reason for coming: to a desire for gain they now added a desire for vengeance. The struggle increased in severity and in bitterness, and eleven years later Aethelred gave it up as hopeless and took refuge in Normandy.

(*b*) **The Struggle between the Danish and English Kings, 1013-1016.**—Aethelred's place was taken with the consent of all parties by Swegn, King of the Danes, who had been ravaging the country at intervals during the past twenty years, and whose animosity had been increased by the death of his sister Gunhild in the Massacre of St. Brice's Day. He ruled for less than a year, and when he died the old divisions were renewed. The Danes chose as their ruler Cnut, younger son of Swegn. The English Witan invited Aethelred to return "if he would rule them better than he did before." A struggle between Aethelred

and Cnut followed. Aethelred was successful while he had the help of two able men, his son Edmund and Eadric, the Ealdorman of the Mercians. But Eadric was entirely self-interested—men called him Streona, or the Grasper—and he quarrelled with Edmund in the year following Aethelred's return and took up the cause of Cnut. This gave Cnut Mercia, and he had almost mastered England when Aethelred died.

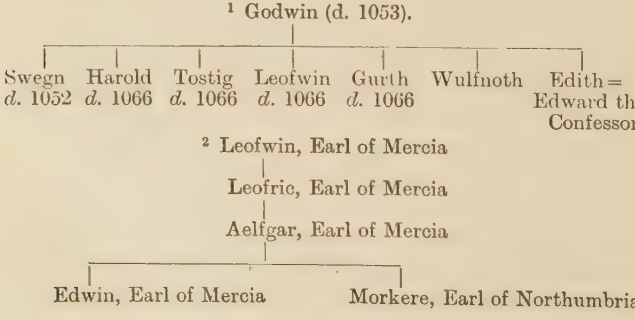
The Londoners and West Saxons, however, remained faithful to Edmund, and Eadric rejoined them. Edmund made so dogged an attempt to wrest the Danelagh and the north from Cnut that his courage and perseverance won him the name of Ironside. He fought six pitched battles against Cnut in seven months. In the last, the battle of Assandun, in Essex, the treachery of Eadric gave Cnut the victory; but it was not very complete, and Cnut was glad to come to terms. The *Treaty of Alney* assigned Wessex, East Anglia, and Essex to Edmund, and the rest of the country to the Dane. The partition had hardly been arranged when Edmund was murdered by Eadric the Grasper, and Cnut became sole king.

(*c*) **Cnut, King of England, 1016-1035.**—Cnut began his reign by putting the treacherous Eadric to death, and by sending back to Denmark his own fighting men except six thousand hus-carls whom he kept as a body-guard. He thus showed that he trusted the English as a whole, but that he thought it well to protect himself from the possibility of attack by such men as Eadric. He chose to rule as an English king rather than as a foreign conqueror. He made England his head-quarters, and he kept up the English laws and customs. He continued the policy of dividing the country into large rulerships for purposes of administration: there were usually four—Wessex, Mercia, Northumbria, and East Anglia—and their rulers began to change their old English title ealdorman for the shorter

Danish form of earl (jarl). Two of these earls, Godwin[1] of Wessex and Leofwin of Mercia, founded families which retained their importance for half a century. But powerful as they were, they were kept in due subordination while Cnut lived.

Cnut married Emma of Normandy, Aethelred's widow, thus connecting himself both with Normandy and with the English royal house. In 1018, on his brother's death, he became King of Denmark, and ten years later he also acquired Norway. He ceded Lothian, the northern part of Northumbria, to Malcolm, King of Scots, receiving from him in return an acknowledgment of his own overlordship. Cnut ruled his great empire wisely and well. He built bridges, drained fens, endowed churches and encouraged learning. In a letter written to his English subjects while he was on a pilgrimage to Rome he truly wrote, "I have never spared, nor will I ever spare, myself or my labour in taking care for the needs of my people."

(*d*) **Harold, Harthacnut, and Edward the Confessor.**—When Cnut died the majority of the English, led by Leofric, son of Leofwin of Mercia,[2] accepted Cnut's son Harold, the child of his first wife, as King, but the West Saxons under Godwin preferred Harthacnut, the child of his second wife, Emma of Normandy. At length, however,



the West Saxons also accepted Harold, and England remained united during his lifetime and that of Harthacnut who succeeded him.

When Harthacnut died, the English chose Edward, the second son of Emma of Normandy and her first husband, the unfortunate King Aethelred, as his successor,—Alfred, their elder son, having been put to death by Harold. Edward, surnamed the Confessor, because of his saintly character, had been brought up in his mother's country, and was more Norman than English. He appointed foreign officials to the English Church, making his friend, Robert of Jumièges, first Bishop of London and then Archbishop of Canterbury. But the work of civil government he left largely to Godwin, Earl of Wessex, Leofric of Mercia, and Siward, Earl of Northumbria, until the insubordination of the Godwins enabled him to outlaw the family. He seized this opportunity to promote more of his Norman friends, and his foreign favouritism soon led to a reaction. The Godwins, who had become, as far as the jealousy of the other nobles would allow, the leaders of the anti-Norman party, managed to force themselves back into power, and Archbishop Robert fled from England.

In the following year Earl Godwin died, but his house lost none of its power. His eldest daughter was the King's wife, and his eldest surviving son Harold became Earl of Wessex. Another son secured the earldom of Northumbria on Siward's death, and his two younger sons were made respectively Earls of East Anglia and Kent in 1057. All England, except Mercia, was now in the hands of the House of Godwin, and Harold was suspected of aiming at the succession to the throne. In 1065, however, the Northumbrians expelled Tostig and chose Morkere, son of the Earl of Mercia, in his stead. Harold Godwinson, to conciliate the Mercians, consented to his brother's downfall and to the advancement of the rival house.

§ 20. (*a*) **King Harold II., 1066.**—Edward died childless, and Edgar the Atheling, grandson of Edmund Ironside, the nearest representative of the royal house, was a minor, too young to rule in such troubled times. The Witan therefore chose the most powerful man in England, Harold Godwinson, to be their king, though he was not of royal blood. To strengthen his position, Harold married the sister of Edwin, Earl of Mercia, and of Morkere, Earl of Northumbria. His two chief rivals were Harold Hardrada, King of Norway, and William, Duke of Normandy, the latter being the nearest and the most dangerous. William was connected by marriage with the royal house (Table, p. xxvii); he claimed to have received a promise of the succession from Edward the Confessor on the occasion of a visit to England; and he declared that Harold, when wrecked at some unknown time on the Norman coast, had sworn to support him.

None of William's claims gave him any legal right, but the English could hope to resist him only by a united opposition, and this the jealousies of the English earls had already made impossible. While expecting the arrival of Duke William in England, Harold was suddenly summoned to the north by the news that his brother Tostig and Harold Hardrada had attacked and routed Edwin and Morkere at Fulford. The invaders were surprised and defeated by Harold at Stamford Bridge, and Tostig and his ally fell in battle.

(*b*) **Battle of Hastings, 1066.**—Three days later Harold heard that the Norman Duke had landed at Pevensey in Sussex. Edwin and Morkere's gratitude for Harold's timely assistance was not strong enough to induce them to accompany him to the south. He went alone, and, collecting what troops he could by the way, took up his position on the hill of Senlac near Hastings. As his men were nearly all ill-trained and ill-armed peasants, he placed

them on the defensive. For many hours William's archers and mailed horsemen failed to dislodge them. But towards evening a feigned retreat of the Normans caused the English to sally forth from their position. The Normans turned on the pursuers, and gained the crest of the hill. Having thus dispersed the wings, the Normans closed round the picked troops forming the English centre. William ordered his archers to shoot in the air, so that the arrows fell on the defenceless faces of the men who were using their shields as a protection against the weapons of the knights fighting them hand-to-hand. By sunset, Harold, his brothers, and his household troops had fallen round the royal standard. William ordered the body of Harold to be buried on the shore—a fit sepulchre for "the one English king who has died fighting for his fatherland."

Chronology of Chief Events.

Accession of Edward the Martyr, 975.
Accession of Aethelred the Unready, 979.
Massacre of St. Brice's Day, 1002.
Swegn, King of England, 1013-1014.
Treaty of Alney, 1016.
Accession of Cnut, 1016.
Accession of Harold I., 1035.
Accession of Harthacnut, King of Denmark, 1040.
Accession of Edward the Confessor, 1042.
Accession of Harold II., 1066.
Battle of Hastings, 1066.

CHAPTER III., PART II.

FOUR NORMAN KINGS, 1066-1154.

(*a*) William the Conqueror: born 1027; married Matilda of Flanders 1053; died 1087.
(*b*) William II., Rufus: born 1056; died 1100.
(*c*) Henry I., Beauclerc: born 1068; married Edith (or Matilda) of Scotland; died 1135.
(*d*) Stephen, Count of Blois: born 1105; died 1154.

CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

EASTERN EMPIRE.	WESTERN EMPIRE.	PAPACY.	FRANCE.	SCOTLAND.
Romanus IV. (1067)	Henry IV. (1056-1106)	Alexander II. (1061)	Philip I. (1060)	Malcolm III. *Canmore* (1057)
Michael VII. (1071)	[*Various Rivals*:—	Gregory VII. *Hildebrand* (1073)		
Nicephorus III. (1078)	Rudolf of Swabia (1071)	Victor III. (1086)		Donald Bane (1093)
House of Comnenus (1081-1185)	Hermann of Luxemburg (1081)	Urban II. (1087)	Louis VI. (1108)	Edmund (1094)
Alexis I. (108[illegible]	Conrad of Franconia (1093)]	Paschal II. (1099)		Edgar (1097)
Joannes II. (1118)	Henry V. (1106)	Gelasius II. (1118)		Alexander I. (1106)
Manuel I. (1143)	Lothar II. (1125)	Calixtus II. (1119)		David I. (1124)
	Conrad III. (1138)	Honorius II. (1124)	Louis VII. (1137)	
	Frederick I. (1152)	Innocent II. (1130)		
		Celestine II. (1143)		Malcolm IV. (1253)
		Lucius II. (1144)		
		Eugenius III. (1145)		
		Anastasius IV. (1153		

William the Conqueror, 1066-1087.

§ 21. **Coronation of William and Conquest of England.** —Though the defeat of Harold removed the most serious of William's rivals, it was several years before the latter

became in any real sense master of the country. At first the English Witan chose Edgar the Atheling to be their king, but they were unable to maintain their choice, because there was no one to organise the opposition to William. No sooner had the Norman Duke cut London off from possible reinforcements than the supporters of Edgar realised their helplessness and offered him the crown. His work was even then far from complete. Dangers threatened him on all sides. The Earls Edwin and Morkere were seeking the alliance of the Danes, and Edgar that of the Scots.

William crushed all opposition in the north of England by causing the fertile valleys of Yorkshire to be laid waste. He defeated the last remnant of his English opponents in the island of Ely, where they had made a determined stand under their famous leader, Hereward the Wake. He went himself to Chester to secure the submission of Wales; and, finally, he marched an army across the Forth against Malcolm, King of Scotland, who had married Edgar's sister Margaret, and at Abernethy on the Tay Malcolm "became his liege-man." [1]

§ 22. **The Lessons of William's Early Years.**—The Norman Duke, who now became King of England, combined the vigour of a Northman with the craft of a Frank. He was descended from a group of Vikings, who, in 913, had forced the King of the West Franks to sanction their settlements on the lower Seine, and who had speedily become as French in France as their Danish kinsmen had become English in England. William's natural strength of character had been increased by the troubles of his earlier years. He began his career as Norman Duke under the double disadvantage of youth and illegitimacy, but he had, nevertheless, successfully defended his Duchy

[1] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

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against rival claimants, against the Norman barons who were his vassals and against the French King who was his overlord. In consequence of these things no one realised more clearly than he did the perils of the feudal system. From his own hardly-won successes he had learnt much. From the failure of the French King to achieve the like result in France he had learnt more. He saw that the subjects of the French King, his own vassals the Normans included, found a sufficient excuse for treason against their indirect but ultimate lord the King in the fealty which they owed their direct lord the feudal baron. He saw further that the power of the English earls was threatening to make royal government in England as impotent as it was in France. He came to England, therefore, with the fixed determination to allow no divided authority, but to teach all men to look to him as the sole ruler of the kingdom.

§ 23. **William's Civil Government.**—The circumstances of his conquest favoured William's project from the first. The opposition to him gave him an excuse for declaring much of the land of England forfeit, and for re-granting it to his own followers on his own terms. In this re-distribution of the land of England he avoided, by giving him scattered estates instead of a single vast territory, the danger of making any baron too powerful in one district. To this rule there were but three exceptions: the holders of the counties of Durham, Cheshire, and Kent, being required to protect the English border against the Scots, the Welsh, and the French respectively, were allowed to exercise much power.

William also transferred the local governing powers as far as possible from the earls to the sheriffs. The latter were appointed by him, and, as their offices were not hereditary, they were mere instruments of the royal authority. The old popular courts of the Hundred [1] and the Shire

[1] Hundred = a division of a Shire.

were kept up, and the sheriff, instead of the earl, was made president of the Shire court. William protected himself against unruly Norman barons by the maintenance of the old English fyrd, and by building castles and keeping them in his own hands. He protected himself against the English by the organisation and extension of the Feudal Levy. In his support of the English popular institutions and the fyrd, he began that alliance between the king and the people against the barons, which was to be the chief feature of the next hundred years.

The expenses of government and defence were necessarily heavy, and William found himself compelled to revive the Danegeld. To facilitate its collection and assessment he ordered an accurate survey of the country to be made. Royal commissioners were sent all over England to learn the extent of each estate, the name of its owner, the number of its inhabitants, and the amount of its stock. The results of this inquiry as embodied in *Domesday Book* have proved a most valuable account of the state of society at that time. They are, however, scarcely more important than the method by which they were secured. Representatives of those who knew the truth in each township were called upon to place their knowledge at the service of the State. This expedient was the practical origin of the later institutions, trial by Jury and the House of Commons.

Finally William used the information he had obtained to reach the highest point in his struggle against feudal anarchy. The names of the land-owners of England having been revealed by the survey, William summoned them to a great meeting at Salisbury, and there compelled them, "whosesoever men they were,"[1] to swear fealty to him. Henceforward owners of English land could hardly fail to realise that the King in a very direct as well as an indirect

[1] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

sense was their lord. At Salisbury William asserted the principle of national unity. He left to his successors the task of making that unity effective.

§ 24. **The Ecclesiastical Policy of William.**—With the aid of his friend and adviser, Lanfranc of Pavia, whom he made Archbishop of Canterbury, William introduced system and order into Church as well as into State. Hitherto the English Church had been national and insular. Until the reign of Edward the Confessor at all events it had had little connection with Rome. It was now brought into closer touch with the Papacy, and it shared in the reformation of the Church, which was the work of Hildebrand (Pope Gregory VII.) and the monks of Cluny. The idea of this reformation was the complete separation of the Spiritual and the Temporal, as regards both things and persons, and the predominance of the Spiritual over the Temporal. In practice it meant the celibacy of the clergy and the supremacy of the Pope.

William had much sympathy with this movement, and he put it into force in England by his separation of the Church and lay courts. Bishops were no longer to hear spiritual cases in the shire-courts. They were to judge them in their own courts and by ecclesiastical law. In accordance also with the Cluniac reforms, marriages of the clergy were declared illegal for the future. But William, though Gregory VII. had supported his conquest of England, was not prepared in return to admit the full supremacy of the Pope. In ecclesiastical as well as in civil affairs he could brook no rival authority. He accordingly laid down three rules for the maintenance of his own royal supremacy over the English Church. No Pope was to be acknowledged or Papal letters received without his consent; no ecclesiastical assembly was to meet or enact any laws except with his approval; and none of his

barons and servants was to be excommunicated without his permission.

§ 25. **Close of the Reign.**—William's closing years were darkened by the rising of his barons, the revolt of his son Robert, the conspiracy of his half-brother Odo of Bayeux, and the plot of the Kings of Norway and Denmark (frustrated only by the death of the latter) against his throne. Men saw in this time of trouble the just punishment for the three great crimes of his later life: the harrying of the north, the execution of Waltheof, and the making of the New Forest.

The destruction which he had wrought in the north might be excused by the plea of political necessity; but for the murder of Waltheof there was no equivalent excuse. Waltheof had known of, without revealing, the conspiracy of the barons; but, though he had taken no part in it, he was the only one to suffer death. Nor did men forgive the making of the New Forest and the cruel forest laws of mutilation and death for all who injured the King's deer, since for these deeds there were no reasons of State. They saw a fitting retribution for his crime in the fact that a son and a grandson of his died in the New Forest in his lifetime, and that another son was killed there after his death.

But the English had good cause to be grateful to William in spite of his faults. He ruled as far as possible by English law and as an English king; and so he gave not only unity and order to the English nation, but also continuity to the English constitution. The words of a contemporary writer of the *English Chronicle* do him no more than justice when they describe him as "a very wise and a great man, and more honoured and more powerful than any of his predecessors. He was mild to those good men who loved God, but severe beyond measure towards those who withstood his will. . . . Amongst other things

the good order that William established is not to be forgotten: it was such that any man, who was himself aught, might travel over the kingdom with a bosomful of gold unmolested; and no man durst kill another, however great the injury he might have received from him."[1]

William Rufus, 1087-1100.

§ 26. **Accession of William Rufus.**—The Conqueror appointed Robert, his eldest son, Duke of Normandy, and William, his second, King of England. But this arrangement did not please the English barons. They would have preferred the rule of the weak Robert to that of William, who was his father's equal in ability though not in character, and in 1088, led by Odo of Bayeux and Robert of Bellême, they attempted to put Robert on the throne. The rising was, however, subdued by the help of the native English, William promising them in return for their aid "better laws than had ever been in this land."[1] While Lanfranc lived he kept his word, but when Lanfranc's good influence was removed by death "these concessions were soon done away. . . . Howbeit the English stood by the lord their king."[1]

§ 27. **William's Government and the Feudal Dues.**—William's chief minister was one Ranulf Flambard, a clerk. For several hundred years after the Conquest, the English kings chose their officials from the ranks of the clergy. In those days they were almost the only people who could read or write; they could be paid without cost to the Crown by the gift of ecclesiastical benefices; and, being often of humble birth, they were more dependent on the King than members of the baronial class would have been, and were more ready to do his will.

The acquisition of money, whether justly or unjustly, was the aim of William's government; and Ranulf Flambard

[1] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

met his wishes by exacting to the utmost extent all the payments to which the feudal idea of land, as held from the King in return for service, gave him the shadow of a claim. If for any reason a holder of land were incapable of service, the King considered himself entitled to compensation. Thus an heir on the death of his father and the consequent lapse of the latter's service was called upon to pay a fine, known as a *relief*, for the land. If the heir were a minor or a woman, the King claimed the right of *wardship*, or possession of the land until the heir was old enough to do service, or the heiress had a husband to do it for her. The King consequently also claimed to control the marriages of his wards.

Ranulf, if he did not invent this system, at least applied it with thoroughness and extended it to Church land. When the holder of a Church benefice died, William exacted a payment in the nature of a *relief* from his successor; enjoyed the revenues during the vacancy; and frequently kept benefices vacant for his profit. He did not even appoint a new Archbishop of Canterbury until four years after Lanfranc's death. Then in sudden penitence, brought on by illness and the fear that he was about to die, he forced an Italian, Anselm of Aosta, abbot of Bec in Normandy, to take the vacant See. Anselm was a saint and a philosopher, between whom and William Rufus there could be little harmony. The new Archbishop openly rebuked the vices of the King and his Court; he objected to the feudal payment which was required of him when he became Archbishop, and he quarrelled with the King because William refused to acknowledge Urban II., one of two rival Pontiffs, as Pope. At last he left the country in despair, never to return while the Red King lived.

§ 28. **Chief Events of the Reign and the King's Death.** —William added considerably to the lands which his father had left him. He repulsed an invasion of the King of

Scots and annexed the district round Carlisle. He subdued South Wales, and only failed to subdue the north because "the Welsh ever fled before him to the mountains and moors so that no man could get near them."[1] He then tried the plan of allowing his subjects to take and keep what they could from the Welsh. This policy proved more successful, and henceforward the conquest of Wales made rapid progress. Finally, the First Crusade gave William a chance of securing Normandy.

Christians had long been in the habit of making pilgrimages to the Holy Land. While it was in the hands of the Arabs they had done so with comparative safety, but when it fell into the hands of the Turks they were subjected to much ill-usage. Pope Urban II. accordingly urged the whole of Christendom to a crusade, or war on behalf of the Cross, and "an innumerable number of men departed to conquer Palestine."[1] With them went Duke Robert, but first, being in need of money for his expedition, he pledged his duchy to his brother William. The Red King now ruled more territory than his father had done, and he was thinking of adding Ireland to his possessions when he was shot with an arrow—whether accidentally or not is unknown—while hunting in the New Forest. Though he was a better ruler for England than Robert would have been, his vicious life, his greed, and his impiety had made him hated of all his people. "For in his day all justice sank and all unrighteousness arose in the sight of God and the world."[1]

Henry Beauclerc, 1100-1135.

§ 29. **Accession of Henry I.**—On his brother's death, Henry, the youngest son of the Conqueror, seized the throne without delay. He tried to win the good-will of all

[1] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

parties by arresting Ranulf Flambard, by recalling Anselm to England, and by issuing a charter containing three promises, the first of which appealed to the clergy, the second to the Barons, and the third to the people. He promised, first, that the Church should be free from extortions, and that the higher ecclesiastical benefices should no longer be kept vacant; second, that the feudal dues, whether exacted by the King or any other feudal lord, should be "just and legitimate"; and third, that "the laws of Edward the Confessor," by which he meant the old English liberties and institutions, should be maintained.

At the same time Henry showed that he knew the native English to be his best friends by marrying a descendant of the ancient line of Saxon kings. This was Edith, or Matilda, as the Normans called her, of Scotland, niece of Edgar the Atheling. And he was right. It was by the aid of the English levies that he defeated his brother Robert's attempt to gain the English crown, that he suppressed a baronial rising under Robert of Bellême, and that he secured Normandy and took his brother and Edgar prisoners at the battle of Tinchebrai.

§ 30. **Anselm and the Compromise of Bec, 1107.**—Archbishop Anselm's ideals of Church independence had grown during his exile from England, and on his return he objected to the appointment of Bishops and Abbots by the Crown, and to their receiving the ring and staff, the symbols of their ecclesiastical authority, from lay hands. But Henry, like the other monarchs of his time, asserted his right to some control over persons who were landowners as well as churchmen. The English dispute was at length settled by the *Compromise of Bec*. It was there arranged that the chapter of a See or the monks of an Abbey were to elect its head, but only in the King's court; and that Bishops and Abbots were no longer to be invested with the ring and staff (or the "spiritualities" of their office)

by the Crown, but that they were to do homage for their lands (or "temporalities") and to swear fealty to the King. Though it lost its nominal control, the Crown thus obtained an effective influence over ecclesiastical elections.

§ 31. **Roger of Salisbury and Henry's Civil Government.**—Under the rule of Henry I. and Roger of Salisbury his *Justiciar*, as the King's chief ministers were henceforth called, a steady progress towards good government was made. Roger introduced some measure of organisation into the King's court, or Council of magnates both lay and ecclesiastical, and he especially developed the financial side of the court, which received the name of the Exchequer from the checkered cloth of its account-table. He revived the local courts of the Hundred and the Shire, and he began to connect the local with the central government by occasionally sending *Itinerant Justices* on circuit to hear and settle disputes.

The aim of Roger's justices was to make the King's income as large as it had been in Flambard's day, but without Flambard's oppression, and it was with this end in view that he extended the royal justice far and wide. For the fees paid by those who asked the King's officers to settle their disputes were among the chief sources of revenue, and if the King could provide better and cheaper justice than the Barons, he not only increased his income but also his authority. Under Henry the system worked so well that he was called "the Lion of Justice."

§ 32. **Henry's Power and the Close of his Reign.**—Henry's power was great when he died. He had defeated all attempts to wrest the English crown from him, and an attempt made by the French King and the Barons of Normandy to seize the Duchy on behalf of Robert's son, William Clito. He had laid the foundations on which his grandson, another Henry, was to build an efficient central government, and he had made excellent marriages for his

children. But his life had been saddened by the loss of his son William, who was drowned in *The White Ship* on his way back from the war in Normandy, and his closing years were embittered by anxiety about the succession to the throne. In his reign the chroniclers complained of misery, of plague, of famine, and of "the manifold oppressions and taxes which never ceased,"[1] but the English nevertheless appreciated the firmness and the justice of his rule, and they had good reason to mourn for him when he was dead. "He was a good man and great was the awe of him; no man durst ill-treat another in his time: he made peace for men and deer."[1]

Stephen of Blois, 1135-1154.

§ 33. **Civil War, 1139-1148.**—With Henry's death England plunged into anarchy and civil war. Henry had tried to secure the throne for his daughter Matilda, widow of the Roman Emperor Henry V. and wife of Geoffrey of Anjou, and to this end he had thrice made the barons swear fealty to her. But when he died they speedily forgot their oaths. They preferred the rule of her cousin Stephen, son of the Conqueror's daughter Adela. Matilda's cause was at first supported by her uncle, David I. of Scotland. But David was defeated at the Battle of the Standard, near Northallerton, and finally bought off by being allowed to hold Cumberland without doing homage for it. His son, moreover, received permission to hold Northumberland, with the exception of the fortresses of Bamborough and Newcastle, as a fief of the English Crown.

But Stephen was incapable of profiting by the advantage he had gained. He offended his people by calling in mercenaries from abroad, he paralysed the government

[1] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

and estranged the clergy by attacking Roger of Salisbury and his family connections, and he did not prevent the barons from building new castles. Meantime civil war went on and the whole country was soon in utter disorder. In 1141 Stephen was captured at Lincoln and imprisoned; and for a time Matilda's rule was acknowledged. Eventually Stephen was released in exchange for the Empress's half-brother, Robert of Gloucester. Matilda's harsh and arbitrary rule had meanwhile alienated the Londoners, and Stephen resumed the throne. A few years later Matilda, in despair, gave up the struggle and left England.

In the meantime Henry, her son by her second marriage, was growing old enough to take her place. He was also acquiring territories so extensive that no prince in Western Christendom could rival him in power. His mere appearance in England in 1153 was almost enough to force Stephen to agree to a compromise, and the King attempted no serious resistance. The civil war was accordingly ended by the *Treaty of Wallingford*. It was arranged that Stephen should hold the crown for life, but that Henry should assist him in the government while he lived, and succeed him when he died. The joint system of government proved impossible, but Stephen died in the following year, and Henry, with the support of the Church, at once secured the throne.

§ 34. **Feudal Anarchy and the Character of the Reign.** —Though the reign of Stephen was one of unspeakable misery, it was not without elements of good. Even the sufferings caused by the feudal anarchy of the reign were not fruitless. The firm rule of William the Conqueror, of Rufus, and of Henry had done much to teach the people the value of a strong central government, but this one bitter experience of a weak government did far more. Stephen's personal courage, generosity, and good-nature were of no avail in face of his inability to keep order. When the

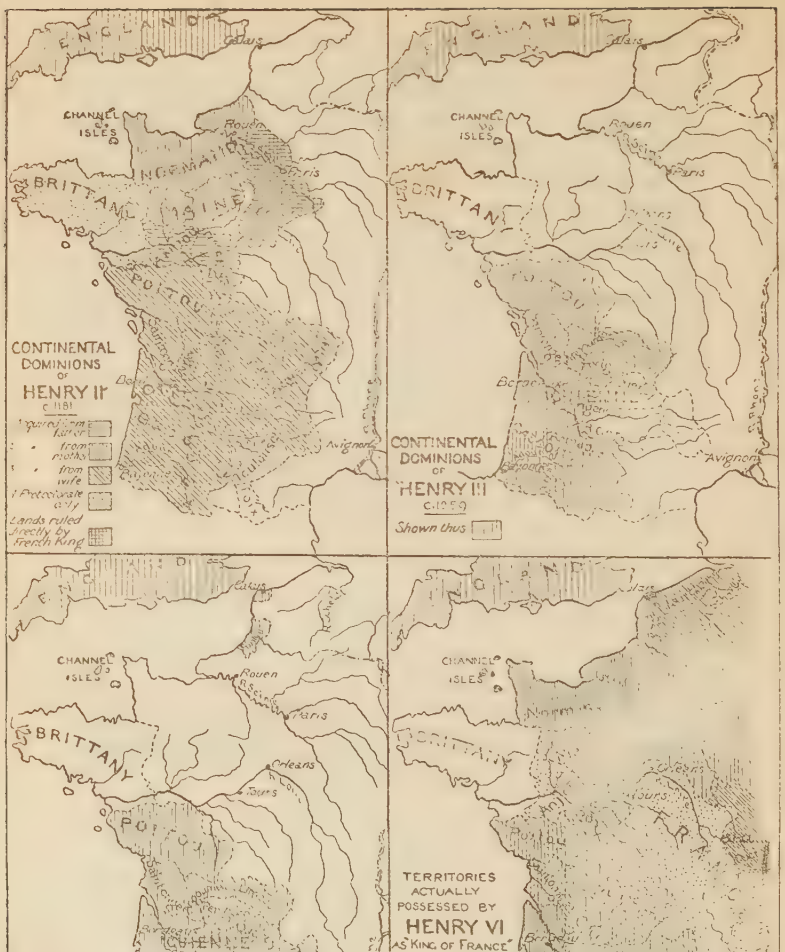
Barons "perceived that he was a mild man and a soft,"[1] they broke faith with him and each did what was right in his own eyes. The result is vividly depicted in the pages of the *English Chronicle*:—

"They filled the land full of castles . . . and when the castles were made, they filled them with devils and evil men. Then they took those whom they suspected to have any goods . . . both men and women, and they put them in prison . . . and tortured them with pains unspeakable. . . . Many thousands they exhausted with hunger . . . and they burnt all the towns so that well mightest thou walk a whole day's journey nor ever shouldest thou find a man seated in a town, or its lands tilled. Then was corn dear, and flesh, and cheese and butter, for there was none in the land. . . . The bishops and clergy were ever cursing them, but this to them was nothing, for they were all accursed, and forsworn, and reprobate. The earth bore no corn, you might as well have tilled the sea, for the land was all ruined by such deeds, and it was said openly that Christ and His saints slept. These things and more than we can say did we suffer nineteen years for our sins."

Chronology of Chief Events.

Accession of William I., 1066.
Revolt in Kent and Hereford, 1067.
Yorkshire laid waste, 1069.
Submission of Wales, 1070.
Defeat of Hereward the Wake, 1071.
Submission of Malcolm Canmore at Abernethy, 1072.
Rising of Barons, 1075.
Death of Waltheof, 1076.
Revolt of Robert, 1078-9.
Conspiracy of Odo of Bayeux, 1082.
Proposed expedition of Kings of Norway and Denmark, 1084.
Domesday Book, 1085.
The Salisbury Gemot, 1086.
Accession of William Rufus, 1087.
Rebellion of Barons, 1088.
William conquered part of Strathclyde, 1092.
First Crusade, 1095-9.
Accession of Henry I., 1100.
Henry defeats Robert, 1101.
Rising of Barons suppressed, 1102.
Battle of Tinchebrai, 1106.
The Compromise of Bec, 1107.
Plot of French King and Norman Barons in favour of William Clito, 1117.
Henry's victory over them at Brenville, 1119.
Death of Henry's son William, 1120.
Death of Edgar the Etheling, 1120.
Death of William Clito, 1128.
Accession of Stephen, 1135.
Battle of the Standard, 1138.
Stephen temporarily superseded by Matilda, 1141.
Treaty of Wallingford, 1153.

[1] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*



The Eastern Frontier of the French Kingdom shown thus ----

CHAPTER III., PART III.

Henry II. and his Sons, 1154-1216.

(*a*) Henry II., born 1133 ; married Eleanor of Aquitaine 1152 ; died 1189.

(*b*) Richard I., *Cœur-de-Lion*. Born 1157 ; married Berengaria of Navarre 1191 ; died 1199.

(*c*) John, *Lackland*. Born 1167 ; married (*a*) Hawise of Gloucester (divorced 1200) 1189, (*b*) Isabella of Angoulême 1201 ; died 1216.

CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

EASTERN EMPIRE.	WESTERN EMPIRE.	PAPACY.	FRANCE.	SCOTLAND.
Manuel I. (1143)	Frederick I *Barbarossa* (1152)	Hadrian IV. (1154)	Louis VII. (1137)	Malcolm IV. (1153)
Alexis II. (1181)	Henry VI. (1190)	Alexander III. (1159)	Philip II. *Augustus* (1180-1223)	William I. *The Lion* (1165)
Andronicus I. (1183)	*Rivalry between* Philip of Swabia (1197) *and* Otto IV. (1198)	Lucius III. (1181)		
Isaac II. *Angelus* (1185)		Urban III. (1185)		
Alexis III. (1195)		Gregory VIII. (1187)		Alexander II. (1214-1249)
Alexis IV. (1203)	Frederick II. (1212-1250)	Clement III. (1187)		
Alexis V. (1204) *Latin Empire at Constantinople* (1204-1261)		Celestine III. (1191)		
		Innocent III. (1198-1216).		

Henry II., 1154-1189.

§ 35. **Character and Possessions of Henry.**—The new King entered upon the most difficult task of restoring order with remarkable advantages of character and of power. His industry and his energy were extraordinary. Henry the Unresting he has been fitly called, for he was never still. He was as indefatigable in learning as he was in

hunting or in war. Every moment that he could spare from his political cares, or from the chase, he spent in the discussion of serious questions or in reading. He had great natural abilities, and he became an excellent scholar. In warfare thanks to his skill and rapidity of movement he was a successful general. In politics he was sagacious and merciful. In spite of his fiery temper his rule was just and firm, and he possessed an insight into character which enabled him to choose his servants and advisers well.

To these personal advantages Henry added the material power which comes of great possessions. He was by birth the heir of three ruling families. From his father he had inherited the lands of the House of Anjou—Anjou and Touraine. Through his mother, as the descendant of the Old English Kings and of the Norman Dukes, he succeeded to England, Normandy, and Maine. By his marriage with Eleanor of Aquitaine, the divorced wife of Louis VII. of France, he added the various territories collectively known as Aquitaine.[1] At a later date, in consequence of the marriage of his third son, Geoffrey, to the Duke's heiress, Constance, he also secured Brittany. There was no more powerful prince in Christendom than Henry II. in the height of his prosperity.

§ 36. **The Restoration of Order.**—Henry's first task was to put down the feudal anarchy which had been prevalent of late years. He resumed the Crown lands and revenues, which Stephen had recklessly given away to secure support. He destroyed hundreds of the strongholds which the Barons had built without royal licence, and which were consequently known as "adulterine castles," and he put the system of justice once more into working order. His chief advisers were Robert de Beaumont, Earl of Leicester (1154-1167), and Richard de

[1] These were Poitou, Marche, Saintonge, Angoumois, Limousin, Auvergne, Guienne, and Gascony.

Lucy (1154-1179), Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas of London, son of Gilbert Becket, a merchant of London. The last-named was Henry's friend and confidant, and he had done much to secure the King's peaceful accession. Henry rewarded him by making him first Chancellor, and on Theobald's death Archbishop of Canterbury. The duties of a Chancellor were to keep the King's seal and to manage his secretaries, and it was a post of constantly increasing importance. To these four ministers the work of government was entrusted during the King's frequent absences from the country, for he was more often on the Continent than in England.

§ 37. **Henry's Relations with France, Wales, and Scotland.**—Henry's desire to increase his dominions on the Continent led him into frequent conflict with the King of France. His disputes broke into open warfare when he attempted to assert his wife's claim to the overlordship of the great county of Toulouse. But Henry had scruples about fighting his feudal superior, the King of France, in person, and soon agreed to a truce. A marriage followed between his son Henry and Louis' daughter Margaret. King Louis was, nevertheless, always ready to encourage Henry's foes. He sheltered Thomas of Canterbury when he quarrelled with the King, and in 1173 he supported the young Prince Henry's first revolt against his father, just as Philip, the next King of France, supported the second. As Henry was more powerful in France than his overlord, the King of the French, the latter was naturally anxious to weaken his power by every possible means.

But, interested as he was in his continental empire, Henry did not neglect to strengthen and extend his rule within the British Isles. He reduced a large part of Wales to submission, though once again the inaccessible character of the north prevented a complete conquest. He compelled Malcolm, King of Scotland, to give up the northern

counties, which Stephen had yielded to David, and when a later king, William the Lion, took part in the Feudal Revolt of 1173-4, and was defeated at Alnwick, Henry exacted homage and an acknowledgment of his overlordship from him in the *Treaty of Falaise*. Finally, Henry undertook the conquest of Ireland.

§ 38. **Quarrel between Henry and Thomas.**—Henry's work was interrupted by a quarrel with Thomas. When Becket became Archbishop he ceased to live a worldly life. He resigned his chancellorship, he abjured luxury, and he set himself to become a saint. To Henry's astonishment he soon showed that he was possessed of a spirit of ecclesiastical independence stronger even than that of Anselm. Unfortunately for the cause of peace, William the Conqueror's separation of Church and State had already led to crying evils, which Henry was not the man to endure. The privilege enjoyed by the clergy of being tried by ecclesiastical courts was much abused. The Church had interpreted this to mean that they were to be punished as well as tried by the ecclesiastical courts alone. The only punishments which the Church could inflict were those of penance, of excommunication, and of deprivation of orders; hence clerics guilty of murders and other great crimes received very inadequate punishment.

Two glaring instances of murder by priests brought the matter to a head. Henry caused an inquiry into English law to be made. The results of it were set forth in a document known as the *Constitutions of Clarendon*. For the most part this did little more than repeat and amplify the principles laid down in the three rules of William the Conqueror and the regulations of Henry I. concerning election to benefices. But there was in addition a clause forbidding appeals to Rome; and on the particular question of clerical jurisdiction, it contained a compromise which Thomas would have done well to accept. The King's court

was first to decide whether a criminal were a clerk or a layman, and if he were a clerk, to hand him over to the ecclesiastical court for trial. If the Church court pronounced him guilty, it was to degrade him and return him to the King's officer for punishment.

Thomas refused to agree to the Constitutions, and the quarrel grew so bitter that the Archbishop left England. He remained abroad, a useful tool for all the King's enemies, for some years, during which Henry persecuted his adherents in England. Eventually, however, the coronation of Henry's son without Becket's co-operation—an infringement of his privileges as Primate—so strengthened his opposition that the King was obliged to make peace. But Thomas' first act on his return to England was to excommunicate the bishops who had taken part in the coronation. The exasperated King thereupon expressed a hasty wish that someone would rid him of "this turbulent priest." Four knights, unfortunately, took him at his word, and murdered the Archbishop in his own cathedral.

It was the most unlucky incident of Henry's life. From that hour his prospects darkened, and, though he won the Papal absolution after the conquest of Ireland, his reputation suffered. For the reputation of the Archbishop on the other hand it was a fortunate event. He was reverenced henceforward as a saint. By his "martyrdom" benefit of clergy and appeals to Rome were secured for the Church of England virtually until the time of the Reformation.

§ 39. **Henry's Conquest of Ireland.**—Ireland had been occupied at an early date by Iberians and Gaels, and, though exposed to the inroads and settlements of the Northmen, had remained unconquered for centuries. Its civilisation had, however, been destroyed by the Northmen, and it possessed no political unity. The Irish chiefs were engaged in a constant rivalry for supremacy, and, as usual,

disunion prepared the way for conquest. Moreover, as Ireland had received its Christianity from the British Church, it had never acknowledged the authority of Rome. Henry's conquest was therefore authorised by the Pope, and thus obtained a religious sanction.

The first opportunity for intervention arose when Dermot McMurrough, King of Leinster, sought English aid against the Head-King, Roderick O'Connor of Connaught. While nominally assisting him, some of the Norman Barons, chief of whom was Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, nicknamed Strongbow, managed to gain a firm hold over Dublin and the south-eastern angle of the island. Henry, fearing that they would make themselves independent, went over in 1172 to receive their homage, and that of the Irish chiefs. At the same time he summoned a synod of the Irish clergy at Cashel, and, by inducing it to adopt the customs of Rome and to acknowledge the authority of the Pope, he fulfilled his religious mission. He could not stay long enough in Ireland to make his conquest a reality by the establishment of a strong central government; it was consequently only on the east coast round Dublin that the English rule was recognised and obeyed.

§ 40. **Henry's Administrative Reforms.**—Henry kept steadily before his eyes the one great aim of destroying Feudalism in the government by substituting for it a strong central administration. His first blow was dealt at military power. On the occasion of his expedition to Toulouse he exacted a payment of scutage (or shield-money) instead of military service. With the money so gained he was enabled to lead into the field a body of mercenary troops entirely under his own control, instead of a feudal army which was apt to disappear when its forty days of service had expired. He thus weakened the military power of the Barons. At the same time he strengthened the national force or militia by his *Assize of Arms*, which compelled

every freeman to be supplied with weapons for the defence of his country.

He next developed the central government by means of the re-organisation of the Royal Council. This represented the old English Witenagemot. It was now separated into two parts: a larger body of advisers which was summoned occasionally and which kept the name of *Magnum Concilium*;[1] and a smaller body of officials known as the *Curia Regis*,[2] to which was entrusted the actual work of administration. By restoring Henry I.'s system of itinerant justices and by making their visits more regular and more frequent, he maintained a permanent connection between the central court and the local courts of the Hundred and the Shire. He enlarged and improved the jurisdiction of the local courts by means of a series of laws or assizes. The method of collecting information on oath from representative freemen (cp. *Domesday Book*) was extended to civil disputes by the *Grand Assize*, and to the detection of crime by the *Assizes of Clarendon* and *Northampton*. This was another step towards trial by jury, though as yet the sworn representatives were witnesses rather than jurymen.

Henry further extended the royal control over the local courts and struck another blow at the feudal jurisdiction of the Barons by holding an inquiry into the conduct of the sheriffs, which was called the *Inquest of Sheriffs*. The result was the removal from office of many sheriffs who were Barons, and the substitution for them of men entirely dependent upon the Crown. The method of sworn inquest was also applied to purposes of taxation on the occasion of the assessment of the Saladin Tithe. This was a tax raised for the support of the Third Crusade, and it was notable as being the first tax on personal property. It was therefore the first non-feudal tax, or tax not based on land.

[1] The Great Council. [2] The King's Court.

§ 41. **Henry's Closing Years and an Estimate of his Reign.**—Henry's great and useful reign closed in humiliation and defeat. He had hoped to make his rule over his vast territories more effective by associating his sons with him in the work of government as soon as they were old enough, and to this end he had placed each of them over a group of continental lands, and had had the eldest, Henry, crowned King of England. But, as a result, they became greedy of power, quarrelled with him and with each other, and joined hands with his foes both at home and abroad.

Thus Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey, encouraged by their mother, took part in the Feudal Revolt of 1173-4, which was the final attempt of the Barons to resist the substitution of royal for feudal government. It was a union of all Henry's enemies—his sons, the Barons, the Kings of France and Scotland, and Philip, Count of Flanders. Its defeat in Henry's absence by the English militia under the ministers of the Curia showed the strength of the new central government. After the deaths of the King's first and third sons, John, the youngest, joined Richard, now the eldest, against the King. Henry died broken-hearted, not so much at his defeat by Richard, as by the news that John, whom he had trusted, was also unfaithful. He passed away murmuring sadly to himself, "Shame, shame on a conquered King."

Though Henry died in the deepest personal humiliation, the work which he did for England can neither be ignored nor forgotten. With the suppression of the Feudal Revolt, Feudalism as a system of government received its death-blow. When next the Barons opposed the Crown, their opposition was constitutional and no longer feudal in character, and they, not the King, had the support of Church and people. Henry also laid the foundations of a judicial system, which has survived in its main outlines

until the present day. He took a step towards the union of the British Isles by asserting his supremacy over Scotland and by reducing a great part of Wales and a part of Ireland to submission; and he attempted to define the relations of Church and State. To few, if any other, of the Kings of England does the country owe a greater debt than to this "conquered King," the "lion-like" Henry.

Richard I., 1189-1199.

§ 42. **Richard's Wars.**—The new King was a warrior, not a statesman. He reigned ten years, and in that time paid England only two brief visits. The first was shortly after his accession, and its object was to raise money for the Third Crusade. When Henry II. died, all Western Europe was preparing to recover Jerusalem, which had passed into the hands of the Christians during the First Crusade, but which had been taken from them by the Sultan Saladin in 1187. By selling offices to ambitious men and rights of self-government to towns, and by releasing William the Lion of Scotland, in return for 10,000 marks, from the homage he had promised at Falaise, Richard obtained the money he wanted. He then went in person to the Holy Land. On his way he conquered Cyprus, and when he arrived he joined in the siege of Acre and forced it to surrender. Disease and national jealousies, however, had so weakened the crusading troops that it was impossible to attempt the siege of Jerusalem.

Richard, accordingly, made a three years' truce with Saladin and set off for England, where the plots and rebellion of his brother John were making his presence very necessary. But in passing through the Austrian Duchy he was captured by the Duke, whom he had offended at Acre, and sold by him to the Emperor Henry VI. After a year's captivity he was released on payment of a heavy

ransom and on doing homage to the Emperor for England. He returned to this country, and, though he only stayed two months, restored order there. The rest of his life he spent on the Continent in border warfare with the King of France. He met his death while besieging the castle of Chaluz in Limousin, in the attempt to wrest treasure-trove from an insubordinate vassal. As a ruler he was worth little, but as a knight and warrior he won great renown. His personal courage earned for him the name by which he was known to his own as well as to later generations—Richard Cœur de Lion.

§ 43. **The Government of England.**—England was governed by Justiciars in Richard's absence, and on the whole in the spirit of that "rule of law" which was established by Henry II. But the administration of the first Justiciar, William Longchamp, who had obtained his office by purchase, was not a success. In the beginning of the reign the country was disturbed by riots against the Jews, who were unpopular because they grew rich by money-lending; and later by a baronial opposition, of which John was the leader, against the Justiciar himself. Longchamp was therefore superseded by Walter de Coutances, Archbishop of Rouen. It was the latter who gave London permission to form itself into a corporation with an elected mayor, and it was he who raised Richard's enormous ransom of £100,000. The other Justiciars of the reign were, successively, Hubert Walter and Geoffrey Fitzpeter.

Hubert Walter, a nephew of Ranulf Glanvil, Henry II.'s last Justiciar, loyally carried out the traditions of that great King's government. Richard's wars made his taxation heavy, but it seems to have been raised without difficulty, though on one occasion the Great Council refused to contribute on the ground that it was no part of their duty to serve the King abroad, and that in consequence they owed him no aid. The absence of the King proved

on the whole to be an advantage to the kingdom, for it taught the ministers how to carry on the government by themselves, and in doing so they made a notable advance in the direction of Henry II.'s policy. They increased the self-governing powers of the Shire and Hundred courts as well as those of the towns; and they made it the rule that all taxes, whether personal or on land, should be assessed by elected representatives. The way was thus prepared for the rise and growth of Parliaments.

John, 1199-1216.

§ 44. **John and the Loss of Normandy.**—Richard's quiet accession to the throne, in spite of his absence from England, had shown the tendency of the crown to become hereditary. John's succession, on the other hand, was a return to the old elective principle; for by the right of inheritance the true heir was his elder brother Geoffrey's son, Arthur of Brittany. Philip II. of France took up Arthur's cause, and a short war ensued, which was ended by Arthur's giving up the contest for the British crown and doing homage for Brittany.

John's conduct, however, was not calculated to keep the peace. By divorcing his first wife, Hawise of Gloucester, without any reason, and by marrying Isabella of Angoulême, the betrothed of Hugh de Lusignan, Earl of Marche, he made enemies of two noble families. Hugh appealed for redress to Philip Augustus of France, as John's overlord; and when John refused to appear to answer the accusations against him, Philip declared his fiefs forfeit. On this Arthur again took the field. He fell into his uncle's hands and shortly afterwards disappeared. There can be little doubt that he was murdered. At any rate the belief that John was the murderer proved useful to Philip. The event gave him another excuse for attacking John's French

dominions, and the result was that he had conquered Normandy, Maine, Anjou and Touraine before the end of 1204. Though he overran Poitou, he was less successful with other parts of Aquitaine, for they now, as in the future, preferred the distant overlordship of an English king to the nearer sway of a French one.

§ 45. **John's Quarrel with the Pope.**—The death of Hubert Walter, in 1205, not only removed a good influence over John, but also involved the King in a quarrel with Pope Innocent III. An Archbishop was usually chosen by agreement between the King and Pope and then recommended to the formal electors, the monks of Canterbury, for election ; but in this case the monks chose their sub-prior without waiting for instructions. The King, therefore, forced them to make a second election of a friend of his own. The matter being referred to Rome, the Pope ordered the monks to ignore both elections and to choose his candidate, Stephen Langton, an Englishman, a great scholar, and a great man, as Archbishop.

The Pope's choice was the wisest, but his claim to appoint an Archbishop of Canterbury on his own sole authority was one against which both William I. and Henry II. would certainly have protested. John, however, made the mistake of carrying his opposition too far in the beginning of the quarrel, and submitting too abjectly in the end. To compel him to yield, the Pope placed England under an interdict, thereby causing great suffering to the people, for it meant that all the churches were closed and that no sacraments except baptism and extreme unction were administered. John in return fined and plundered the clergy who obeyed the interdict. The Pope replied, first, by excommunicating John, and finally by declaring him deposed and his subjects absolved from all allegiance to him. He proposed to confer the English crown on Philip of France, who at once prepared to invade England. John raised an army to oppose

him, but, knowing that he could not depend on the loyalty of his Barons, he decided to give way. He submitted to Pandulf, the Papal Legate, at Dover, promising to receive Stephen Langton and to recompense the clergy for the losses they had suffered. He further acknowledged that he held his kingdom as a fief of the Papacy, and undertook to pay an annual tribute to the Pope of 1000 marks (£666).

§ 46. (*a*) **The Struggle for the Charter.**—On John's submission the Pope ordered Philip to give up his projected invasion of England. Philip refused. His fleet was, however, destroyed by English ships under the command of William Longsword, Earl of Salisbury. John wanted to follow up his victory by invading France, but his Barons refused to follow him on the ground that they were not bound to cross the sea to perform their annual military service. John had to give way, for he saw that his misgovernment and his evil life had aroused hatred in all classes of his subjects. He therefore attempted to divide his opponents by concessions. He first tried to detach the Church from the nation. He issued a charter granting freedom in the election of bishops, and he summoned an assembly at St. Albans to assess the damages due to the Church. To this assembly representatives from each township on the royal demesne were summoned.

This was the first occasion in which representatives were called together in a central assembly, and it was therefore an unconscious step on the road to Parliament. But the Church refused to be bribed. Stephen Langton took the lead in the demand which now arose for the restoration of the laws of Henry I. At a meeting of the Barons he produced that King's coronation charter as evidence of what his laws really were. Henceforth the discontent took the form of a demand for a new charter.

(*b*) **Magna Carta, June 15th, 1215.**—A crushing defeat of John's forces and allies abroad by the King of

France at Bouvines encouraged the Barons to press their demands by force. Their army, which called itself "the Host of God and of Holy Church," was so powerful and popular that John gave way. At Runnymede, an island in the Thames between Staines and Windsor, he gave his consent to the *Great Charter of Liberties*. There was little new in this famous charter. To the Church it promised freedom, especially in the matter of elections; to the Barons, Clergy, Freemen, and Villeins escape from unjust or excessive taxation—"No scutage or aid," the King promised, "shall be taken in our kingdom except for the ransom of our person, the knighting of our eldest son or the marriage of our eldest daughter, save by the common council of our realm." The Barons were to be as lenient to their tenants as the King undertook to be to his Barons.

Finally, the Charter guaranteed the liberty of the subject by securing a fair trial of his cause to every freeman—"No freeman shall be taken, or imprisoned, or disseised, or outlawed, or exiled, or attacked in any way . . . except by the legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land"; and "To no man will we sell, deny, or delay right or justice." Still essentially feudal in character, the Charter showed no advance on the government of Henry I. or Henry II. All the taxes to which it made reference were feudal taxes, and the Council, which, as the Charter shows, was to consist of greater and lesser Barons, was a feudal Council. The provisions for its summons contained no hint of the representative system, which had been steadily, but apparently still unconsciously, taking shape during this and the previous reign.

But the terms of Magna Carta, as a recent historian has pointed out, "involved more than they expressed." They were fortunately vague, and they could easily be held to

apply to new conditions. Little by little, therefore, the counties and the boroughs acquired a share in those provisions of the Charter which related to the Common Council of the realm. Magna Carta was above all important, not so much for its results, as for the fact that it was won by the efforts and protected the interests, not of the magnates alone, but of all classes of the community. In the words of the late Bishop Stubbs, "The Great Charter is the act of a united nation, the Clergy, the Barons, and the Commons, for the first time thoroughly at one."

§ 47. **French Invasion and Death of King John.**—John had no intention of observing the Charter. He therefore appealed for aid to the Pope, who released him from his oath and threatened to excommunicate his opposers; and he collected a great army of mercenaries. The Barons in alarm invited Louis, the son of Philip Augustus of France, to reign over them. The growing sense of English nationality, to which the loss of Normandy had been a great stimulus, was shown by the fact that this invitation to a foreigner weakened the Barons' cause. None the less, John was losing ground when he suddenly died at Newark. His death came as a great relief to the nation. Though he had much of the ability of his family, he had also all their faults, and to these he added many vices peculiarly his own. He was cruel, ungrateful, treacherous, and absolutely shameless. To the vileness of his life and character he owed the loss of his friends and all the troubles of his reign. His name has been handed down to history as that of the worst of English kings: his contemporaries used stronger language—"Foul as it is, Hell itself is defiled by the fouler presence of John."[1]

[1] Matthew Paris. *Chronica Majora*, 1216 A.D. (Rolls Series).

Chronology of Chief Events.

Accession of Henry II., 1154.
King of Scots compelled to do homage, 1157.
War of Toulouse, 1158-1162.
Imposition of Scutage, 1159.
Thomas of London made Archbishop, 1162.
Constitutions of Clarendon, 1164.
Conquest of Ireland, 1166-1172.
Assize of Clarendon, 1166.
Murder of Archbishop Thomas, 1170.
Inquest of Sheriffs, 1170.
Synod of Cashel, 1172.
Great Feudal Revolt, 1173-1174.
Battle of Alnwick, } 1174.
Treaty of Falaise, }
Assize of Northampton, 1176.
Assize of Arms, 1181.
Death of the King's son Henry, 1183.
Death of the King's son Geoffrey, 1186.
Saladin Tithe, 1188.
Henry's defeat by Richard, and his death, 1189.
Accession of Richard, 1189.
The Third Crusade, 1189-1192.
Accession of John, 1199.
Loss of Normandy, 1199-1204.
Death of Hubert Walter, 1205.
Appointment of Stephen Langton, 1207.
Excommunication of John, 1209.
John's submission to the Papacy, 1213.
Assembly of St. Albans, 1213.
Battle of Bouvines, 1214.
Magna Carta, 1215.
French invasion and death of John, 1216.

BOOK II.

THE RISE OF PARLIAMENT, 1216–1327.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 48. **Retrospect.**—In the course of the 240 years dealt with in our first book, England had passed successively under the sway of three dynasties of foreign kings, who had made her the appendage first of a Northern and then of a Continental Empire. They brought the country into closer connection with the Continent of Europe, asserted and extended their control over the northern and western portions of the British Isles, and gave England its first effective system of central government. Finally, England had become an independent kingdom when John's loss of the greater part of his father's continental dominions made the country the head-quarters of the family which it is convenient to call Plantagenet.

§ 49. **Forecast of the Period, 1216–1327.**—The long reign of John's son, Henry III., forms a transition period. The fact that Henry combined an incapacity for government with a strong affection for foreigners induced some of the English magnates to seek a remedy for his misrule in a government which should be at once effective and English. The struggle between the Crown and the Baronage saw the first beginnings of what we call Parliament. During the reigns of Henry's son and grandson England was comparatively free from continental complications. The main interest of the period lies in Edward I.'s

attempt to bring all Britain under his rule, and to solve the problem of government in such a way as to secure the co-operation of governor and governed in the work of maintaining and improving the common weal. But his policy, though wise and far-seeing in design, was not altogether successful. Scotland not only regained its independence in the reign of his degenerate son, but also, as a direct consequence of Edward's intervention, acquired a lasting hatred of England. It was at home that Edward showed himself most truly great. He completed the work of Henry II., who had devised machinery by which the King's will was imposed on the kingdom. Edward added machinery by which the nation's thoughts and feelings might be brought to influence the King's will. His guiding principle was expressed in his words, "*what touches all should be approved by all.*"

§ 50. **The Expansion of the Great Council into Parliament, 1213–1272.**—For the first century after the Norman Conquest the only classes of the community who had any *right* to assist the King in the work of government were those who stood in direct relation to himself as overlord—*i.e.* the lay barons, and the prelates, both bishops and abbots. But from the first the King made use of other classes: he used men of ability, generally ecclesiastics, in the routine work of administration which requires special knowledge and experience (p. 52); and he also used the local knowledge of all classes in the financial, judicial, and other business of the shires (p. 67). From a constitutional point of view, the great achievement of Henry II.'s reign was the definite formation of a trained body of government officials, and the constant employment of "juries" of private persons to supplement and check the work of the official class. But the political experience thus gained by the middle-class was not available for

purposes of government unless it was concentrated in the same way that the political experience of the Baronage, both lay and spiritual, was concentrated in the Great Council.

§ 51. **The Development of Parliament.**—In the thirteenth century this concentration was effected. The great council can be called Parliament as soon as tenancy-in-chief ceases to be the sole qualification for a seat, and representatives of the middle class from the shires and towns are included. Room was found for the middle classes by applying to the central assembly that method of elective representation which had been first used for the judicial and financial work of the Hundred and the Shire in the reign of William the Conqueror (p. 48). In 1213, 1254, and 1264 representative knights were summoned from each shire to assist the central government in ways specified in the writs of summons; and in 1265 and 1295 representative burgesses and citizens from various important cities and boroughs were similarly summoned, in addition to the county representatives. Finally, in the reign of Edward II., the knights and burgesses came to be recognised as essential parts of Parliament.

By the time of Edward III.'s accession Parliament had, therefore, definitely come to consist of the Barons, spiritual and lay, sitting virtually in their own right, and representatives of the local administrative areas of county and of borough, sitting in virtue of elections conducted by the sheriff at the King's command. The entire Parliament thus not only represented all the estates[1] of the realm, but also most of the local interests. The inferior clergy, it is true, persistently eluded the attempts of Edward I. to embrace them in the parliamentary system, preferring to

[1] An Estate = a class possessing sufficient property and common interest to entitle it to formulate its opinions

do their civil work in their provincial convocations; and their absence distinguishes the English Parliament from the other parliamentary assemblies which were springing up in Western Europe. In England the Clergy lost their character as an estate, and the Church was represented in Parliament by spiritual peers only. The fact that both the knights and the burgesses came, not in virtue of personal right, but as representatives of local communities (communes), ultimately brought them together as the single estate of "the Commons," and severed them from the Lords as a distinct "House" of Parliament.

CHAPTER IV.

Henry III., 1216–1272.

Born 1207; married Eleanor of Provence 1236; died 1272.

CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

EASTERN EMPIRE.	WESTERN EMPIRE.	PAPACY.	FRANCE.	SCOTLAND.
Rival Emperors (1204–1261)—	Frederick II. (1212)	Honorius III. (1216)	Philip II. (1180)	Alexander II. (1214)
(*a*) Greek at Nicaea,		Gregory IX. (1227)	Louis VIII. (1223)	
(*b*) Latin at Constantinople.		Celestine IV. (1241)	Louis IX. (1226)	
		Vacancy (1241)		
	Conrad IV. (1250)	Innocent IV. (1243)		
	Interregnum	Alexander IV. (1254)		
		Urban IV. (1261)		Alexander III. (1249–1286)
Michael VIII. *Palaeologus* (1261–1282)	(1254–1273)	Clement IV. (1265)		
		Vacancy (1268)	Philip III. (1270)	
		Gregory X. (1271)		

§ 52. **The Struggle between Henry and Louis.**—The death of John changed the situation. Henry, it is true, was a minor, and no minor had ever before sat on the throne of England; most of the English Barons were pledged to support Louis of France; and the kingdom was overrun by Flemish mercenaries and French troops. But the boy-king was given a wise guardian in the person of William the Marshal, Earl of Pembroke (with whom was associated Gualo, the Papal legate), and the Barons, fearing that Louis would prove a despotic master, were easily induced to break faith with the French prince. Louis was gradually

deserted, and, in May 1217, he suffered a severe defeat in a battle called the *Fair of Lincoln.* A few months later Hubert de Burgh crushed the French fleet in a fight off Dover—the first great naval victory ever won by English ships—and in September Louis agreed to leave the kingdom.

§ 53. **The Minority of Henry III. and Administration of Hubert de Burgh, 1216–1232.**—The long reign of Henry III. falls naturally into four periods. The first covers the King's minority and the administration of Hubert de Burgh; the second comprises the years of royal government and misrule; the third includes the attempt of the Barons to control the Crown; the fourth was a time of uninterrupted peace. When William the Marshal died (1219), his powers were divided between Peter des Roches, who was made the King's tutor, and Hubert de Burgh, who was already Justiciar, but they did not work together long. Peter des Roches became a supporter of foreign interests; Hubert took the lead against foreigners. In his English policy Hubert won the warm support of Stephen Langton. The Archbishop obtained the recall of Gualo and a promise that no other foreign legate should be sent during his lifetime. This made the Papal control over the English Church less irksome to English national feeling than before. Henry was declared of age in 1227, but fortunately he did not attempt to govern without Hubert de Burgh for several years, though he at once dismissed Peter des Roches from his service. At length, however, Hubert fell, a victim to royal and baronial jealousy. A chronicler relates that a smith, when the King ordered Hubert's arrest, refused to rivet the chains of "the faithful Hubert, who has so often saved England from being the prey of the aliens and given it back to the English."[1]

§ 54. **The Misrule of Henry III., 1232–1258.** — The

[1] Matthew Paris

character of Henry III. was ill-suited to his position. In private life he was pious and well-meaning, a good husband and a kind father. In public life he showed himself at once incapable and self-confident, weak and obstinate, needy and extravagant. As early as 1237 the magnates complained of his extortions and of the favour he showed to aliens. The influx of foreigners had begun with Hubert de Burgh's fall and Peter des Roches' return to power in 1232, and the grievance grew yearly greater. Provençals came in the train of the Queen; Savoyards accompanied her uncle Boniface of Savoy when he was made Archbishop of Canterbury; Poitevins returned with Henry after the failure of his attempt to recover Poitou; and finally Henry's half-brothers, the sons of his mother and her second husband, Hugh de Lusignan, Earl of Marche, came over to England and demanded support from the King. Henry did his best to satisfy all these claims, with the result that year by year the national hatred of the foreigners, "whose wont it is to be ever friends to themselves and not to the kingdom,"[1] grew stronger.

This feeling against aliens was increased by the Papal policy of the time and by Henry's subservience to it. About 1239 the Papacy, which was engaged in a bitter struggle with the Empire, tried to raise money by taxing the vassal States of the Church. On England, which had already a reputation for wealth, this taxation fell with exceptional weight. In addition to the ordinary Papal taxes[2] and extraordinary funds raised for special purposes, much money went abroad every year into the pockets of the Pope and the absentee holders of English benefices whom he had appointed, as many people thought unjustly. In

[1] Matthew Paris.

[2] Peter's pence (first paid by Offa), and annates, or first-fruits, the first year's revenue from bishoprics and abbacies.

his extortions the Pope received the support of the reckless and unthrifty Henry. As one of the numerous political songs of the period expresses it, "the King and the Pope have no other thought than how to extort from the clergy their gold and their silver." The climax came when Henry's support of the Pope's quarrels involved England in an enormous debt to the Papacy. The Pope had deposed and excommunicated the King of Sicily, who was a son of the late Emperor, and had offered to conquer Sicily for Henry's son Edmund. Henry's thoughtless vanity not only led him to accept the offer, but also, when the conquest was complete, to call upon the English to pay the expenses which the Pope had incurred, nominally on Henry's behalf, but really for his own political ends.

§ 55. **The Baronial Attempts to control the Crown, 1258–1264.**—Thereupon the smouldering discontent broke out into open rebellion. The Barons considered that Henry was merely a tool of the Papacy, and that they and the clergy were supporting the Pope's private quarrels. They accordingly gathered together an armed Parliament, called by the royalists the *Mad Parliament*, at Oxford, and there compelled the King to entrust the government to a council of twenty-four men, half chosen by himself and half by the Barons. This Council drew up a scheme of government, which Henry swore to observe. By the *Provisions of Oxford*, as the scheme was called, the control of the King and the administration of the kingdom were entrusted to several baronial committees. Their oligarchical[1] character, however, foredoomed them to failure. Divisions soon arose in the baronial party. The knights, supported by Simon de Montfort and Edward, the King's eldest son (afterwards Edward I.), demanded a more popular reform.

[1] Oligarchy = a state in which the government is placed in the hands of a few, generally an aristocracy.

Henry, encouraged by the breach among his opponents, attempted to recover his own power, and, when he had induced the Pope to absolve him from his oaths, civil war became imminent. But the questions between King and Barons were first submitted to the arbitration of Louis IX. of France. Louis bore a well-deserved reputation for justice and saintliness, but he did not understand English affairs. He thought that baronial rule would mean anarchy in England, as in France. He therefore decided almost entirely in favour of Henry, and declared that he was under no obligation to observe the Provisions of Oxford. The Barons declined to accept the *Mise of Amiens*, as the award was called, and recourse was immediately had to arms.

§ 56. **Simon de Montfort and the Barons' War.**—The Barons had found a leader in Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester. He was a foreigner by birth, but he had English blood in his veins, and he was English by choice. Some twenty years earlier he had been regarded with aversion as an alien, and his name is found among those of the King's counsellors who were "suspect."[1] He had married the King's sister, and had been appointed Governor of Gascony. While abroad he had had considerable experience not only in administration, but also of Henry's ungrateful and suspicious temper. As he sank in royal favour his popularity with the people grew. He was an able general, and when the baronial and royalist armies met at Lewes, it was to his military talents and to a mistake on the part of Edward, who in 1263 had gone over to his father's side, that the Barons, though the weaker party, owed their victory. The King and his brother Richard, Earl of Cornwall, were taken prisoners at Lewes, and a day later Edward himself surrendered. For more than

[1] Matthew Paris.

a year afterwards Simon de Montfort controlled the government.

His rule is mainly noteworthy for an important advance in the direction of a representative Parliament. Knights had already been summoned to meet the Barons and Clergy in central assemblies, but De Montfort was the first to summon representatives from the cities and boroughs, and to unite them with Clergy, Lords, and Knights in one parliamentary assembly. This he did in 1265. The representation was, however, incomplete, consisting of Simon's party only, and his object in summoning the assembly seems to have been merely to strengthen his own cause. Some months afterwards Edward escaped from captivity, and succeeded in surprising Earl Simon and his army at Evesham. In the battle which followed the Earl was defeated and slain. But his work was already done. He had saved England from despotic government, and more than that he was not capable of doing. Just before he died his own ambition and the arrogance of his sons were making him personally unpopular. But, because of the manner of his death, his faults were forgotten. The people mourned him as a hero and a martyr.

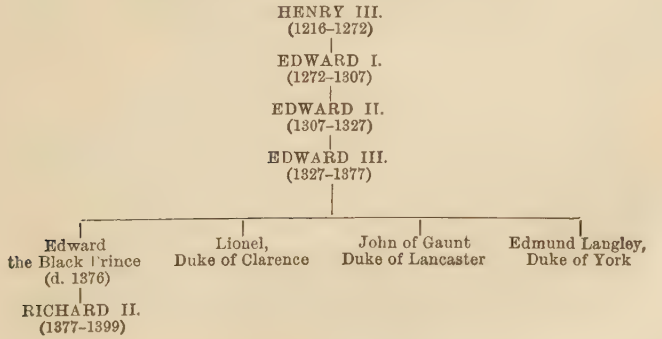
§ 57. **Close of Henry's Reign; the Friars.**—Peace was restored by a proclamation, called the *Dictum of Kenilworth*. Henry, who no longer cared to rule, was now content to let his son restore order for him. In 1270 the country was so quiet that Edward ventured to join the Seventh Crusade. In his absence the petty and poor-spirited King died. As a monarch he was a lamentable failure. But his age was a great one. It was marked not only by political experiments, but also by the growth of towns, by a revival of intellectual life, and by more than one of the manifestations of religious feeling which are typical of the Middle Ages. A great development took place in religious art, and especially in

architecture. The round arches and massive walls of the Norman period were replaced by the pointed arches and lofty vaults of the graceful Gothic style, which is known as the Early English. Of Henry's own influence in the new development, the re-building of a part of Westminster Abbey is a fine example. His reign also saw the coming of the Friars. The Friars were the members of two new religious orders, usually called after the names of their founders, Dominicans and Franciscans. Their object, unlike that of the older order of monks, was not to withdraw from the world to save their own souls, but to go out into the world to save the souls of other men. The Dominicans devoted themselves chiefly to preaching; the Franciscans to teaching the poor and healing the sick.

Chronology of Chief Events.

1216. Accession of Henry.
1217. Louis of France leaves England.
1232. Fall of Hubert de Burgh.
1232-47. Influx of foreign favourites.
1258. Mad Parliament and Provisions of Oxford.
1264. Mise of Amiens.
1264. Battle of Lewes.
1265. Parliament of Simon de Montfort.
1265. Battle of Evesham and death of Simon.

The Last Five Plantagenet Kings.



CHAPTER V.

Edward I. and his Son, 1272–1327.

(*a*) Edward I., born 1239; married (*a*) Eleanor of Castile, 1254, (*b*) Margaret, daughter of Philip III. of France, 1299; died 1307.
(*b*) Edward II., born 1284; married Isabella, daughter of Philip IV. of France, 1308; murdered 1327.

CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

EASTERN EMPIRE.	WESTERN EMPIRE.	PAPACY.	FRANCE.	SCOTLAND.
Michael VIII. (1261)	*Interregnum* (1254–1273)	Gregory X. (1271)	Philip III.	Alexander III. (1249)
The first of 8 Emperors of the House of Palaeologus	Rudolf I. *Hapsburg* (1273)	Innocent V. (1276)	*the Bold* (1270)	
Andronicus II. (1282)	Adolf *Nassau* (1292)	Hadrian V. (1276)		
	Albert I. *Hapsburg* (1298)	John XX. (1277)		
	Henry VII. *Luxemburg* (1308)	Nicolas III. (1277)	Philip IV.	Margaret (1286)
	Lewis IV. *Wittelsbach* (1314–1347)	Martin IV. (1281)	*the Fair* (1285)	*Interregnum* (1290–2)
		Honorius IV. (1285)		John Balliol (1292)
		Nicolas IV. (1289)	Louis X. (1314)	*Interregnum* (1296–1306)
		Vacancy (1292)		
		Celestine V. (1294)	Philip V. (1316)	Robert I. *Bruce* (1306–1329)
		Boniface VIII. (1294)		
		Benedict XI. (1303)	Charles IV. (1322–1328) *Last Capetian*	
		Clement V. (1305)		
		Vacancy (1314)		
		John XXI. (1316–1334)		

Edward I., 1272–1307.

§ 58. **Character of Edward.**—Edward, though abroad, was at once accepted as King, and the fact that he reigned for nearly two years before his coronation shows the increasing strength of the idea of hereditary kingship. The new King, son of a feeble king and an arrogant queen, was, strange to say, to prove himself the greatest and most popular king who had sat on the English throne since Alfred.

Though not Alfred's equal in character, he was yet a good as well as an able man, and he was genuinely devoted to his country. His family life was as blameless as that of his father; his public life was infinitely superior. The promises of Henry III. were made only to be broken; Edward's good faith, in accordance with the motto of his life, "Pactum serva,"[1] was beyond question; and, as a ruler, he was unequalled. To a passion for law and order he added an energy not inferior to that of Henry II. In fact, he carried out to its full conclusion the anti-feudal policy of his great predecessor. He was, moreover, an able general, as well as a great statesman, having taken his first lesson in warfare from Simon de Montfort. His special genius seems to have lain in a capacity to learn by his own blunders as well as by the errors and the successes of other men. With this quality he combined a generous readiness to own himself in the wrong when he had erred.

§ 59. **Edward and Wales.**—To bring all Great Britain under the rule of the King of England was one of the great aims of Edward's life; and it led him early in his reign to undertake the conquest of Wales. After the Norman Conquest most of the south and centre of Wales had passed into the hands of the Border Earls, called *Lords Marchers*, to whom William II. had entrusted the subjugation of Wales. But the mountainous and as yet unconquered region of the north-west was always a source of trouble to the English kings. Llewellyn, Prince of North Wales, had supported Simon de Montfort in the reign of Henry III., and on Edward's accession had refused to do him homage. To punish him, Edward marched an army into Wales. The Welsh, as usual, retreated to the mountains, but Edward by blocking the

[1] Keep troth.

outlets from the hills starved them into submission. For a few years Llewellyn was allowed to retain his principality, but when he and his brother David revolted, Edward determined to make his conquest complete. Llewellyn was killed in a skirmish and David taken prisoner and executed. The government was then regulated by the *Statute of Wales* (1284). To reconcile the Welsh to the introduction of English law, Edward allowed them to retain some of their old customs and local administrative powers. He also tried to conciliate their national pride by conferring the title of Prince of Wales on his infant son (1301).

§ 60. **Edward's Judicial Reforms and Legislation.**—The reforms of this reign were for the most part intended to complete the anti-feudal policy of Henry II. Some tentative improvements had also been made since his time, which were now confirmed by law. The Curia Regis in its judicial aspect was divided into three courts: the King's Bench for criminal cases, the Exchequer for financial business, and the Court of Common Pleas for lawsuits between private persons. The *First Statute of Westminster* regulated freedom of elections in the county court, and also authorised the dues which the King had been accustomed to levy on the export of wool, wool-fells (sheepskins), and leather, which were consequently known as *customs*. The *Statute of Winchester* revived and regulated the Assize of Arms; and the Statute of *Circumspecte Agatis*[1] attempted to define the vexed question of spiritual and temporal jurisdiction. But some of Edward's most important statutes were land laws. His object was to put a stop to various devices by means of which the duties and payments attached to the possession of land were frequently evaded. The *Statute of Mortmain* or *de Religiosis* was designed to check that transfer of land into the "dead hand" of a religious corporation, by means

[1] So called from the first two words of the statute.

of which the King had lost many feudal services and dues,[1] and the *Statute of Quia Emptores*[2] checked the practice of sub-infeudation.[3] In future when a vassal parted with his land the new tenant no longer became the vassal of the donor, but stepped into the latter's place as the vassal of his overlord. The ultimate result of the law was to bring all land-holders into a more direct relation with the supreme lord the King. Indeed the general tendency of all Edward's land legislation was to strengthen the political tie between "King" and "subject" at the expense of the *feudal* tie between "lord" and "man."

§ 61. **Edward and Scotland.**—Scotland from the earliest times has been divided into two distinct sections—the Highlands, inhabited by Picts and Scots, who were united under Kenneth McAlpine in the ninth century, and the Lowlands, formed by a combination of the northern half of the Welsh kingdom of Strathclyde with Lothian, the northern part of Northumbria. These last districts the Saxon kings had found it politically convenient to cede to the Scottish kings to secure their friendship. The Saxon element was strong in this part of Scotland from the first, and the connection between Lowland Scotland and England was close, until the efforts of Edward I. to establish his supremacy raised the Scottish national spirit and provoked a lasting alliance between Scotland and France. How far the English kings had a right to assert their supremacy is not clear. Scottish kings had acknowledged the overlordship of Edward the Elder, William I., and Henry II.; and over the ceded territories of Strathclyde and Lothian there were undoubted claims. But William the

[1] A corporation never was a minor, never married, and never died, so the King lost his Feudal dues from its land.

[2] So called from the first two words of the statute.

[3] Sub-infeudation is the name given to the process by which a tenant granted a portion of his land on conditions similar to those by which he held it from his lord.

Lion had been freed by Richard I. from the promises he had made to Henry II., and Edward I. was at all events not entitled to claim a full feudal suzerainty. He believed, however, that he was, and thus his legal instinct together with his love of order made him desire to bring Scotland as well as Wales under his own rule.

At first a peaceful settlement seemed probable. After Alexander III. of Scotland's death, a marriage was arranged between his heiress Margaret and Edward I.'s eldest son. Unfortunately the little Queen died before the marriage could be celebrated. Since Alexander had no other descendants, and the rules of succession in Scotland, though the crown was tending to become hereditary as in England, were still unsettled, a number of rival claimants to the Scottish throne at once appeared. The chief of these were John Balliol and Robert Bruce. As they both held lands in England as well as in Scotland, they readily agreed to accept Edward's arbitration. Edward, with the help of a joint committee of English and Scottish barons, decided in favour of Balliol by the *Award of Norham* (1292). In return for his throne Balliol was at first willing to do homage to the English King, but, finding his claims of suzerainty irksome, he revolted in 1295 and sought the alliance of France. In 1296 he was driven from his throne by Edward, who declared his kingdom forfeit, removed the stone on which Scottish kings were wont to be crowned from Scone to Westminster, and entrusted the administration of the kingdom to Englishmen.

§ 62. **The French War and the Model Parliament, 1295.**—During his struggle with Balliol, Edward had been hampered by difficulties with France. Though the two countries were at peace, French and English seamen were jealous of each other, and conflicts frequently took place at sea. In 1293 a great naval battle, in which the

French were defeated, was fought off Brittany. Philip IV. of France called upon Edward to punish his subjects for their aggression, and Edward, as security for his doing so, handed over to Philip, who in right of Gascony was his feudal lord, his Gascon castles. Having obtained possession of these castles, Philip refused to restore them. War consequently broke out between France and England. The combined pressure of the Scottish and French wars forced Edward to take a step which led to the most important constitutional development of his reign.

The majority of Edward's legislative reforms had already been made with the expressed assent of those classes which they chiefly concerned. Sometimes only the Barons, clerical and lay, were present; sometimes representative Knights were also summoned. Edward, desiring the moral as well as the financial support of all his people in this crisis, now followed Simon de Montfort's example, and added representatives of the Boroughs to the Knights and Barons. Unlike that of Simon de Montfort, his assembly was completely representative; it is therefore known as the "Great" or "Model Parliament." It was a model because it drew the outline of the constitution of our modern Parliament. In the fact that it was an assembly of the elected representatives of all the Estates of the realm, at one time and in one place, for a definite purpose, it differed from the earlier national assemblies summoned by Edward I., and still more from the merely local assemblies of the Hundred and Shire from which it was derived. It differed from a modern Parliament in two particulars. In the first place, the three Estates were then the Clergy, Lords, and Commons, but since the retirement of the lower Clergy to convocation under Edward II., they have been the Lords Spiritual,[1] the Lords Temporal, and the Commons. In the second place, it

[1] The Bishops and Abbots in the House of Lords.

had not yet divided into two Houses. It appears that the final separation of the House of Lords and the House of Commons took place in the reign of Edward III., about the year 1330.

To its connection with the ancient Shire-moots the House of Commons owed its curiously composite character. Since both Burgesses and Knights assembled in the Shire court, they sat together in the House of Commons, and not, as in other countries, in separate Houses. To this fact is due the peculiar strength of the English Lower House, and the early development of English liberties. The powers of Parliament were still very limited. It met not so much for the purpose of granting money as to enable the King to find out how much he could safely ask.

§ 63. **Constitutional Difficulties.** — In the meantime, Edward had given offence to various classes of his subjects by raising taxes without their consent. The pressure of war having reduced him to great straits for money, he had made repeated seizures of wool from the merchants, and imposed irregular tallages on towns, besides obtaining large grants from the Clergy, Barons, and Knights. At this moment the Pope made a fresh attempt to complete the separation of Church and State, by issuing the bull *Clericis Laicos*, which forbade the Clergy to pay taxes to the civil power. Edward replied by outlawing[1] the Clergy, who were thus compelled to agree to a compromise. They hid their disobedience to the Pope under the pretext that the money they gave was not a tax but a voluntary present. Before they yielded, however, Edward had also become involved in a dispute with his Barons, who refused to fight for him in Gascony while he himself was fighting in Flanders, not on the old plea that they were not bound to

[1] To outlaw = to deprive of the benefit and protection of the law, *i. e.* no outlaw could get redress in the law-courts for violence or injury.

serve abroad, but on the new one that they were only bound to "follow the King." Edward had to go to Flanders without having secured their assistance. During his absence he signed a new version of Magna Carta and the Forest Charter,[1] which had been prepared for his acceptance by the Earls and Clergy under Archbishop Winchelsey. The authorised version of it, called *Confirmatio Cartarum*, provided that taxes of the kind recently levied in an arbitrary manner should not again be levied without the consent of Parliament.

§ 64. **Continued War with France and Scotland.**—Edward was no more successful in his campaign against France than in his struggle with his subjects in England, and in 1298 he was compelled to make a truce with Philip in order to be free to put down a revolt in Scotland. This revolt was headed by Sir William Wallace, an Ayrshire knight. Wallace gained a victory over a large English army at Cambuskenneth (1297), but when Edward took the field in person the tide of battle turned. In his Welsh wars Edward had noticed the superiority of the long-bow drawn to the ear over the short-bow drawn to the breast, and he made such good use of it in this second conquest of Scotland that Wallace was completely routed at Falkirk.

Edward provided for the government of Scotland much as he had done for that of Wales. Wallace fled to France, but on returning to Scotland some years later he was captured and executed. Philip had in the meantime overrun Guienne, but the inhabitants preferred English rule as they traded in wine with England. Accordingly, by the *Treaty of Chartres* (1299), Edward obtained the restoration of Guienne and engaged to take Philip's sister Margaret as his second wife. Four years later a marriage was also arranged between

[1] A charter issued by Henry III. in 1217, based on the Forest clauses in Magna Carta.

Edward's eldest son and Philip's daughter Isabella. Edward thus brought his French difficulties to a successful close, but he had still to face a rebellion in Scotland. In 1306 Robert Bruce, grandson of the Robert Bruce who had been Balliol's rival, had murdered his rival Comyn, Balliol's nephew, and had himself crowned at Scone. Driven west for a time, he appeared again in the Lowlands next year. Edward was marching north to crush him, when he died near Carlisle.

§ 65. **Edward's Work.**—Edward, following in the steps of William the Conqueror and the first two Henries, had completed the work of substituting central for feudal government. By summoning Commons as well as Lords and Clergy to the national assembly, he had given England a representative Parliament instead of a Feudal Council, and by making the writ of summons to Parliament, rather than land-tenure, the essential qualification of a peer, he had also dealt a blow at the feudal character of the House of Lords. But above all he had realised that a king who works in harmony with the will of his people is far stronger than a king who works against it; and by enunciating his famous maxim that what concerns all should be approved by all, and by acting upon it, he had laid the foundations of a free government and the liberty of the subject. His people mourned him with affection, with gratitude and with respect.

"Truest of men in everything:
And in war both wary and wise,
For him we ought our hands to wring:
Of Christendom he bore the prize."

Edward II., 1307–1327.

§ 66. **Edward and Piers Gaveston.**—A greater contrast to his father could hardly have been found than the amiable but weak-willed and idle Edward II. He was even less

fitted to be a king than his grandfather Henry III. He took no interest in the government of his kingdom, he showed no statesmanlike qualities, he felt no warlike ambitions. He was conspicuously unwise in his choice of friends and easily led by unscrupulous favourites. His aimless, selfish, and unworthy life is a record of continuous failure, ending in dethronement and death. The king's earliest favourite was Piers Gaveston, a Gascon knight. Edward I. had dismissed Piers from his Court, but Edward II. in this as in other matters disregarded his father's wishes. He not only recalled Piers, but also entrusted him with considerable power.

§ 67. **The Lords Ordainers.**—In 1310 the Great Council attempted to deprive Gaveston of all control over the government. They appointed twenty-one magnates to regulate the King's household and to devise a scheme of reform. The *Lords Ordainers*, as these were called, drew up certain Ordinances which were intended to provide for the observance of the Charters, to prevent the alienation of Crown lands, and to secure for Parliament, which was to meet at least once a year, some control over the selection and conduct of the King's chief ministers. The principal ministerial posts were now those of the Chancellor and Treasurer, the Justiciarship having become unimportant when the Curia Regis was divided into three parts. The fault of the Ordinances was that, like the Provisions of Oxford, they were drawn up in the interest of the Barons only. Gaveston shortly afterwards fell into the hands of the Lords Ordainers, and was executed without a trial. Edward could neither save him nor punish his murderers.

§ 68. **The Battle of Bannockburn, 1314.**—In spite of his father's dying command, Edward left Robert Bruce practically unmolested for seven years, during which time the latter secured all the Scottish strongholds except

Stirling Castle. The strategic value of Stirling was, however, so great that even Edward made an attempt to save it. He encountered the King of Scots at Bannockburn almost under its walls. Bruce's army, like Wallace's at Falkirk, consisted of spearmen drawn up in close formation. He had only a few cavalry and archers. Edward had inherited none of his father's military talent. He first made the mistake of leaving his long-bowmen unprotected on the flank, with the result that they were at once dispersed by the Scottish horse. He was, therefore, unable to prepare the way for a cavalry charge by using his bowmen to break the Scottish ranks, as his father had done at Falkirk. Bruce, moreover, had chosen a strong position, and had made it stronger still by digging pits on his flanks, and was practically safe from an attack by cavalry. As might have been expected, the charge when it came was a complete failure, and the English fell back in confusion. At that moment they saw a body of camp-followers coming down from a height on the left. Believing them to be Scottish reinforcements, they fled panic-stricken from the field. Thus ended Edward's attempt to conquer Scotland. During the next few years the Bruce, now safely established on his throne, occupied himself by harassing the English King. He made raids on the north of England; he stirred up a rebellion in Wales; and he sent his brother Edward Bruce to attempt the conquest of Ireland. Edward Bruce was eventually defeated and slain, but the long struggle with him permanently weakened the English element in Ireland.

§ 69. **The Despensers.**—Edward's last favourites were a father and son, both called Hugh the Despenser. They were Lords Marchers (p. 89), and had an hereditary feud with their neighbours the Mortimers. Parliament secured their exile in 1321, but in the following spring Edward

took up arms, defeated the Mortimers, and recalled his favourites. He then marched north, defeated the Barons' army at Boroughbridge (near York), and executed their chief, Lancaster.[1] But Edward was incapable of gaining any lasting advantage, and an unexpected blow was about to fall on him. His wife Isabella had gone over to France on affairs connected with Guienne, and while there she joined forces with Roger Mortimer, the exiled enemy of the Despensers. She returned to England with Mortimer, her son, and a small force of mercenaries, and attacked both the Despensers and the King. The Despensers were caught and killed, and the King imprisoned. He was accused of having been foolish and extravagant; of having lost Ireland, Gascony, and Scotland; and of having injured the Church and broken his coronation oath. He admitted the charges and resigned the Crown. His son was placed upon his throne, and he himself was murdered before the end of the year at Berkeley Castle.

Chronology of Chief Events.

1272. Accession of Edward I.
1277. Edward's first Welsh War.
1279. Statute of Mortmain or De Religiosis.
1282. Second Welsh War.
1284. Statute of Wales.
1286. Death of Alexander III. of Scotland.
1292. Award of Norham.
1295. Revolt of Balliol.
1295. War with France.
1295. The Model Parliament.
1297–8. Scottish rising under Wallace.
1298. Battle of Falkirk.
1305. Execution of Wallace.
1306–7. Scottish rising under Robert Bruce.
1307. Accession of Edward II.
1314. Battle of Bannockburn.
1321. Exile of the Despensers.
1322. Victory of Edward at Boroughbridge.
1327. Deposition of Edward II. and Accession of Edward III.

[1] Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, one of the Ordainers.

BOOK III.

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR AND THE WARS OF THE ROSES, 1327–1485.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 70. **Retrospect, 1216–1327.**—The main results of the three reigns which form the subject of our second book were the initiation of the long-standing alliance between France and Scotland—due to Edward I.'s premature attempt to bring about the political union of Britain—and the formation of Parliament, which in this period became complete as regards structure. Its powers and privileges, however, had still to be determined, and it had also to undergo many changes in respect of the number of its members and the regularity of its meetings.

§ 71. **Survey of the Period, 1327–1485.**—The history of Western Europe during the period on which we are about to enter is chiefly occupied with the struggle between monarchy and aristocracy, *i.e.* between king and barons, in which the monarchy was on the whole victorious. Even the Papacy, though exhausted by its contest with the Emperors of the House of Hohenstaufen (1137–1254), and discredited by its servitude to France during its captivity at Avignon (1305–1378), and by the ensuing "Great Schism" (1378–1417) between the Roman and Avignonese pretenders to the Papal throne, contrived to assert its own supremacy. In France and in Spain the monarchs struggled successfully against the attempts of the well-to-do classes to overpower them in their parliamentary assemblies; and in England the

premature control of the government by Parliament under the House of Lancaster resulted in the erection of a New Monarchy under the House of York.

§ 72. **The Hundred Years' War, 1338–1453.** — The disputes about the Scottish Succession in Edward I.'s reign became entangled in Edward III.'s reign with the long wars of the French Succession which have been connected together by the convenient name of the *Hundred Years' War*. Philip of France wished to secure the Duchy of Aquitaine, of which Edward was lord, and also to strengthen his own control over Flanders. Edward desired to vindicate his suzerainty over Scotland. Each King thwarted the other in his aims; their subjects rendered trade in the Narrow Seas difficult and dangerous by mutual acts of piracy; and, in 1337, the strain became so great as to result in open war. The first two periods of fighting were marked by the English victories of Sluys, Crécy, and Poictiers, and the capture of Calais; but the third stage of the war, by reason of the cautious tactics of the French, saw a gradual loss of English conquests, until only Bordeaux, Bayonne, and Calais were left. Richard II.'s French leanings and Henry IV.'s poverty caused a cessation of hostilities. Henry V. renewed the struggle, won the brilliant victory of Agincourt, conquered Normandy, and, thanks to the strife of the French factions, secured the succession to the French throne by the *Treaty of Troyes*.

In the later part of the reign of Henry VI. the situation was reversed. Whereas there had formerly been internal disorders in France there were now internal disorders in England; and whereas the English had previously possessed the most formidable weapon of the age in their long-bow, the French now possessed it in their artillery. The result was that by 1453 nothing was left of the English possessions in France but Calais. During the actual fighting

the Hundred Years' War brought moral deterioration, social distress, and political disorder to all the countries concerned; but in both France and England it ultimately led to the rise of strong centralised monarchies, and developed the idea of nationality.

§ 73. **Growth and Decline of Parliament.**—As it drew to a close the Hundred Years' War tended to destroy the power of Parliament, which had advanced by leaps and bounds during its early stages. At first called together merely for the purpose of granting money, because it was simpler to bargain with one body than with all the governing bodies of the country separately, Parliament had proceeded to claim that it could refuse to grant supplies, or could give them only on its own terms, to deny that extraordinary taxation, direct or indirect, could be levied without its consent (1297, 1363, 1371), and to supervise the royal expenditure. It thus obtained an indirect control over the public administration, which it further increased by bringing the King's ministers to account (*e.g.* 1376, 1386, 1450), and even by itself changing the succession to the crown (1327, 1399, 1460). In return for money grants it secured first the royal promise to redress grievances, later the King's enactment of laws drafted by itself.

But the inability of Parliament to establish any effective machinery for bringing its will to bear on the conduct of affairs, coupled with its constant and unwise intervention in foreign policy, was one of the causes which led to the loss of France. It was, also, discredited by its inability to check the disorders of the fifteenth century, and by the ease with which it could be manipulated by party leaders, during the Wars of the Roses. Hence it shared the ruin of the House of Lancaster. The Yorkist kings ignored Parliament and the Tudors controlled it.

CHAPTER VI.

Edward III. and his Grandson, 1327–1399.

(*a*) Edward III., born 1312; married Philippa of Hainault or Hennegau 1328; died 1377.

(*b*) Richard II., born 1366; married (*a*) Anne of Bohemia, daughter of the Emperor Charles IV., 1382; (*b*) Isabella, daughter of Charles VI., King of France, 1396; compelled to abdicate 1399; probably murdered 1400.

CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

EASTERN EMPIRE.	WESTERN EMPIRE.	PAPACY.	FRANCE.	SCOTLAND.
Andronicus II. (1282)	Lewis IV. *Wittelsbach*	John XXII. (1316)	Charles IV. (1322)	Robert I. (1306)
Andronicus III. (1328)	(1314)	Benedict XII. (1334)	Philip VI. *of Valois* (1328)	David II. (1329)
Joannes V. *Cantacuzene* (1342)	Charles IV. *Luxemburg* (1347)	Clement VI. (1342) Innocent VI. (1352) Urban V. (1362)	John (1350) Charles V.	
Joannes VI. *Palaeologus* (1355)		Gregory XI. (1370) *Great Schism*, 1378–1417 *Rome:* Urban VI. (1378) *Avignon:* "Clement VII." (1378)	(1364)	Robert II. *Stuart* (1371)
Manuel II. (1391–1425)	Wenzel (1378–1400)	Boniface IX. (1389–1404) "Benedict XII." (1394-1424)	Charles VI. (1380–1422)	Robert III. (1390–1406)

Edward III., 1327–1377.

§ 74. **Edward's Minority.**—The Queen and Mortimer in deposing Edward, had professed a desire to rid the country of the tyranny of favourites. In reality they had formed a guilty attachment, and wished to remove the King from their path. When this became known they

speedily lost influence. They increased their unpopularity by acknowledging the independence of Scotland in a treaty which was known as the *Shameful Treaty* (1328), and by executing the King's uncle, the Earl of Kent, for alleged conspiracy. In 1330 Edward III., having attained the age of eighteen years, assumed the government. Mortimer was at once arrested, accused of the murder of Edward II., and sent to the block. His accomplice the Queen was imprisoned for the rest of her life.

§ 75. **Edward III. and Scotland.**—The struggle with Scotland was soon renewed. When Robert Bruce died, in 1329, his son David was only six years old. The accession of a minor naturally invited an attack, which was led by some barons of the English party, whose estates had been forfeited. They succeeded in placing Edward, son of John Balliol, on the throne of Scotland. But Balliol's recognition of Edward III.'s suzerainty speedily cost him his crown. He was restored by the King of England, who in person inflicted a crushing defeat on the army of the regent Douglas at Halidon Hill, near Berwick (1333). Balliol, however, brought about his second expulsion by ceding Lothian to Edward in return for the English aid. David had been kindly received in France during his exile, and, though married to the sister of the King of England, he inclined to friendship with France. In dealing with either France or Scotland, therefore, Edward was constantly faced with the danger of an alliance between the two countries.

§ 76. **Causes of the French War.**—War with France soon became inevitable, for Philip VI., besides supporting David, had harassed Guienne, and had aided the Count of Flanders in his struggle with his unruly Flemish cities. Edward wished to protect his French dominions from Philip, to protect the north of England from Scotland, and above all to protect his commerce with Flanders from interruption.

Throughout the Middle Ages, wool and sheep's skins were almost the only articles of commerce that England produced for export, and, as the Flemish cities were the chief mart for English wool, the war in Flanders not only diminished the English trade, but with it also Edward's income from the customs. But the Flemish cities being vassals of the Count of Flanders indirectly owed allegiance to the King of France, his overlord, and it was to justify them in their alliance with himself that Edward claimed the French crown.

When Charles IV. of France died there were three possible claimants to the throne : his cousin Philip of Valois, his grandson Charles the Bad, of Navarre, and his nephew Edward III. of England. Philip of Valois, as the heir of the male line, succeeded in virtue of the Salic Law. In origin this was not a French law. It was a land law of the Salian Franks, and although two kings had already succeeded in accordance with its principles, it was still a question whether it was really applicable to the crown of France or not. Edward III. did not, however, dispute it on this ground. He even did homage to Philip for his French lands, and when he afterwards chose to repudiate his acknowledgment of Philip's right, he based his claim not on a denial of the binding force of the Salic Law, but on a new interpretation of it. He maintained that though it excluded a female from becoming Queen, it did not exclude the male heir of a female line. But even on this contention Edward was not the heir according to modern ideas. Charles the Bad represented the elder branch. The principles of hereditary succession were, however, far from settled in Edward's day, and he could claim, as Bruce had done in Scotland, to be a generation nearer the original stock than his rival. At all events, he found in this argument a sufficient pretext for the claim he wished to make.

§ 77. **First Stage of the Hundred Years' War and Campaign of Crécy, 1337–1347.** — Fighting began in Flanders, but Edward gained little in the early stages of the war. The naval victory won by the English at Sluys was his only success. Minor campaigns divided by short truces followed, but, in 1345, Philip attacked Guienne, and Edward, in order to relieve his subjects there, determined to distract Philip's attention by invading the north of France. He marched on Paris, but as Philip's forces mustered he was compelled to retreat northwards. Having crossed the Seine and Somme with difficulty, he turned to give battle to the French at Crécy in Ponthieu. Philip's army was very much larger than that of Edward. It was composed mainly of heavily-armed and mounted knights, with some Genoese cross-bowmen and archers. The English troops, on the other hand, consisted chiefly of yeomen armed with the long-bow, who were supported on the wings by dismounted knights; for Edward III. never made the mistake which his father had made at Bannockburn, of leaving his archers open to attack on the flank. A flank attack was made still more difficult by the fact that Edward's position was covered by a village at each end. The French King first sent his Genoese cross-bowmen into the battle; but they were "weary of going afoot that day";[1] their weapons were clumsy in comparison with those of the English; and their delivery was so slow that they were easily routed by the English archers. The French knights then pushed to the front. For the first time the long-bowmen had to meet a frontal charge of mounted knights. The result triumphantly proved the long-bow to be the most formidable weapon of the age. The English "let fly their arrows so thick that it seemed snow,"[1] and the whole French army was soon in inextricable confusion.

[1] Froissart, Lord Berners' translation.

Edward next captured Calais, after nearly a year's siege. In the meantime, David of Scotland had seized the opportunity of invading England. He was defeated and taken prisoner at the battle of Neville's Cross (Durham) (1346). Content with his victories, Edward then made a truce with both the King of Scotland and the King of France. In the following year England suffered from a visitation of the plague, known as the Black Death, and it was nearly eight years before the war was resumed.

§ 78. **Second and Third Stages of the War and the Battle of Poictiers.**—The Hundred Years' War was reopened by Edward's eldest son, the "Black Prince," who had already distinguished himself at Crécy. In 1355 he led a plundering expedition from Bordeaux into Languedoc. In the following year he was leading one northwards from Bordeaux when he was intercepted at Poictiers by the French King John with an army four times as great as his own. The English position was well chosen, and protected by hedges and bushes, through which there was but one opening. The French knights, studying how they could fight the English to the best advantage, determined to close on foot; only a few retained their horses and opened the attack as a forlorn hope. But their plan was not successful. Once again the English archers shot "so thick that the Frenchmen wist not which side to take heed."[1] The first French division was thrown into disorder; the confusion spread to the second; and a well-timed cavalry charge, combined with a flank attack, enabled the Prince to rout the third. King John and many of the first nobles in France were made prisoners. This second stage of the war was closed by the *Treaty of Bretigny* (1360). Edward III. agreed to abandon his claim to the crown of France, and to the possessions of Henry II.'s father and

[1] Froissart, Lord Berners' translation.

mother, in return for full suzerainty over Aquitaine, Calais, and Ponthieu.

Although the Treaty of Bretigny was never ratified in due form, six years of comparative peace followed it. But in 1367 the Black Prince, now Duke of Aquitaine, conducted an expedition into Spain in aid of Pedro the Cruel, who had been deposed by a rival with the help of the French. Though successful, the Black Prince returned from his expedition with ruined health and ruined finances; and his effort to meet his expenses by the heavy taxation of Aquitaine brought about a fresh outbreak of the Hundred Years' War. The men of Aquitaine revolted and appealed to the French King, Charles V., as their overlord. In the struggle which followed the English met with repeated losses. The Black Prince injured his reputation by cruelly ordering the massacre of nearly three thousand noncombatants at Limoges (1370), and the English suffered a severe naval defeat at La Rochelle. When his brother, John, Duke of Gaunt, invaded France from the north, the English fared no better. The French declined to meet them in engagements in the open field, and wore out their strength by a long, harassing, and mainly defensive campaign, a policy proposed by Bertrand du Guesclin. When the fighting was brought to a close by the *Truce of Bruges* (1375), Edward had little left but Bordeaux, Bayonne, and Calais.

§ 79. **Constitutional History of the Reign.**—The chief constitutional advance of the reign, though the result of the war, was actually made during the years of truce. In 1340 Edward's need of money compelled him to return to England and to make various concessions to Parliament, which were, however, immediately repudiated by the King, and annulled a little later by Parliament itself. After the campaign of Crécy, the nation gained a more

lasting concession in the *Statute of Treason* (1352). A clear definition of this vague crime being necessary to the personal security of the Barons, the Act of Edward III. practically limited it to three things: the compassing of the death of the King, of his wife, of his heir, or of his ministers; the waging of war on the King in his kingdom; and the imitation of his seal or coinage. After the Treaty of Bretigny, Parliament strengthened its control over indirect taxation by enacting that duties on wool and other goods should only be imposed by the consent of Parliament as a whole, not, as had been done by Edward III., with the consent of the merchants alone. By this time the taxation of classes had given way to national taxation. The exaction of *Tenths* and *Fifteenths* on movables had replaced the *scutage*, *tallage*, and *hidage* of Henry II.

It was during this reign, too, that the demand of the nation that the King "should live of his own," first heard during the minority of Henry III., became insistent. It meant that for ordinary purposes the King should depend on his annual revenue,[1] and that for war or extraordinary purposes he should ask Parliament for a special grant, or subsidy. The cry was generally unfair, for the King's revenue was not enough for ordinary purposes; nor could Parliament be induced to make an adequate grant in war-time. But it was none the less valuable. The poverty of the kings gave Parliament, and in particular the House of Commons, opportunities of asserting themselves, which finally had the result of establishing a constitutional monarchy in England.

§ 80. **Anti-Papal Legislation of Edward III.**—The other important legislation of this reign concerned the relations of England with the Papacy. The removal of the Papacy

[1] The feudal incidents, the profits of justice, mintage, tolls, and the income from the Crown lands.

from Rome to Avignon in 1305, and the succession of a series of French Popes, brought it into close alliance with France. This aroused a national spirit in England which found expression in the *Statutes of Provisors* and *Praemunire*. The former act was meant to check the Pope's practice of "providing" successors to ecclesiastical benefices, who were often foreigners and sometimes also absentees. The latter was designed to prevent appeals being made from the English ecclesiastical courts to the Papal Curia. Finally, the *Good Parliament*, which endeavoured to correct the abuses of some of Edward's last years, when John of Gaunt held the reins of power, devised a new constitutional instrument. By the *impeachment*—or presentation for trial to the House of Lords—of the King's ministers, it secured the responsibility of ministers to Parliament. The work of the Good Parliament was reversed by the next Parliament, which was under the control of John of Gaunt, but the method of impeachment survived. When the Black Prince died this new Parliament, following the Good Parliament's example, recognised his son Richard as Edward's heir.

§ 81. **Close of Reign.**—In the next year (1377) Edward III. followed his eldest son to the grave. His reign is in many respects famous. It saw the birth of Geoffrey Chaucer, the father of English poetry, though it was not until the following reign that he gave to the world in *The Canterbury Tales* a vivid picture of the social life of his time. It was also a reign of great military glory, but, for all that, it was neither a successful nor a happy reign for England. Scotland had recovered her independence, and the great territory won in France was nearly all lost before it closed. The taxation necessitated by the war had, moreover, been intolerably heavy, and the terrible plague known as the Black Death, which swept over England in 1348, had reduced the population by one-third or one-half,

and had caused untold misery. A rise in wages followed a decrease in the number of labourers, and when the landowners tried to restore wages to their former level by means of the *Statute of Labourers* there were ominous murmurs of social discontent. There were hints, too, of coming trouble in the growing unpopularity of the Church; and John Wiclif and his followers, the Lollards, as they were called, were attacking not only the wealth and worldliness of the clergy, but even some of the doctrines of the Church itself. Finally, Edward's policy—a policy first begun by Henry III. —of marrying his younger sons to the heiresses of great Barons, had introduced the feuds and rivalries of the latter into the royal house and into the political life of England. His policy throughout was more dazzling than wise. He sacrificed his country to his ambition, and in spite of his popularity, which he indeed owed to his personal attractiveness rather than to any excellence of character, the verdict of history must condemn him as one of the most selfish of English kings.

Richard II., 1377–1399.

§ 82. **Richard's Minority and the Peasant Revolt.**— During the minority of Richard, the government was entrusted to a Council of nine magnates, but Parliament really controlled the executive. From this Council the King's uncles were excluded, but as the eldest, John of Gaunt, had great influence over it, his power was nevertheless considerable. The first object of the Government was to raise money for the renewed war with France. To this end it imposed a graduated poll-tax—or a tax of so much per head—on all persons, the amount to vary with the supposed wealth of the payer. A second attempt to impose this tax was the occasion of the great revolt known

as the Peasants' Rising of 1381. The rebellion was widespread and apparently well organised. The greater part of England rose in revolt with a unanimity which suggested long preparation. The grievances of the peasants or villeins were really serious and formed the chief source of discontent. Under the feudal land-system they had been serfs, giving labour-service in return for their land, bound to the soil and unable to leave it without their lord's consent. During the fourteenth century, however, many had become, and more were becoming, free labourers, paying a money rent instead of services for their land, and receiving wages for their work. In other words, the services of the peasantry were being commuted for a money payment. The Black Death interrupted this process of commutation. It made labour scarce, and with a rise of prices the peasants naturally asked for more than their customary wage. The landowners, on the other hand, tried to keep wages down by statute, and further exasperated the peasants by returning to the old system and exacting rent in the form of forced labour. The social evils of the time have been depicted in the contemporary English poem of William Langland—*Piers the Plowman.*

But the movement was political as well as social. The insurgents burnt not only the manorial rolls, the records of their bondage, but also the sheriffs' rolls, the records of taxation. In Kent, where there was no villeinage, they were actuated by hatred of John of Gaunt, by the ill success of the war, and by dislike of the poll-tax. The flame of discontent was also fanned by the Lollards, who pushed Wiclif's principle that "Dominion is founded in Grace" to its logical conclusion, that only a good man has the right to claim obedience—and by men like John Ball, a priest of revolutionary views who supplied the revolt with its motto in the couplet—

"When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?"

§ 83. **Result of the Rising.**—The murder of a few unpopular officials, including Simon, Archbishop of Canterbury, by the rebels, spread a panic among the ruling classes, but the young King kept his head. Boy as he still was, he had the courage and determination to insist on meeting the men of Kent at Smithfield. There, in the moment of greatest peril, when the Mayor of Walworth had struck down Wat Tyler, the leader of the insurgents, and the whole mob was threatening vengeance, Richard showed that he possessed presence of mind and political insight, as well as courage. "I will be your leader," he cried, and, putting himself at the head of the rebels, he promised them redress and induced them to return home. "I have this day," he told his mother afterwards, "saved my heritage of England which I had lost." But his promises were not kept, for Parliament, which was controlled by the landowners, cancelled his concessions. Little by little, however, the villeins gained their freedom. Commutation, which had been checked for a time, soon went on with greater rapidity than before. The land-owning class had been frightened, and the Peasants' Rising proved in the long run to be the death of Villeinage. The rising had also a more immediate result in the departure of John of Gaunt from England. The revolt of the peasants had shown him how great his unpopularity was, and he went abroad to enforce a claim on the throne of Castile, which he held through his second wife.

§ 84. **The Lords Appellant and the Merciless Parliament.**—To balance the influence of his uncles, Richard relied on personal friends, the chief of whom were Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, and Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford. But, in 1386, Thomas, Duke of Gloucester (see p. 117), and his

allies obtained control of Parliament, impeached Suffolk, and appointed a Council to manage public affairs for a year. Richard gave way for the moment, but in a few months he made an effort to regain his power. He recalled Suffolk; he made a royal progress through the country in search of popularity; and he obtained from his judges an opinion that the baronial council was illegal. His opponents met his appeal to law by an appeal to arms, and they defeated Robert de Vere, now Duke of Ireland, near the Upper Thames. Gloucester, and his chief allies—Henry, Earl of Derby, son of John of Gaunt, Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and the Earl of Arundel,—then gathered together a Parliament and there "appealed" (or accused) of treason a number of Richard's partisans. Hence they are known as the *Lords Appellant*, and their Parliament, since it condemned Richard's friends and executed those on whom it could lay hands, was called the *Merciless Parliament*. The policy of the Appellants, like that of the Ordainers and of the barons in 1258, was the policy of a party only, for though it received the assent of Parliament, the House of Commons could be so easily "packed" with the partisans of one side or the other, that instead of being an instrument for the expression of an independent popular opinion, it had become the mere tool of the dominant baronial faction.

§ 85. **Richard's Personal Rule.**—In May 1389 Richard quietly told his Council that he was of age, and could manage his own affairs. His personal rule falls into two periods: during the first he ruled constitutionally, during the second despotically. Throughout both periods there was a truce with France, and security abroad, which were due in part to Arundel's naval victories during the rule of the Lords Appellant, and in part to the death of the Scots Border Lord, James of Douglas, in a battle against the

Percies at Otterbourn.[1] To make himself yet more secure, Richard after the death of his first wife, Anne of Bohemia, married the daughter of the French king, a child of eight years. John of Gaunt had, moreover, returned to England from Spain a wiser man. On his return he exercised a good influence over Richard, and did his best to keep the peace between the members of the royal house. The period of constitutional government was marked by the re-enactment of the Statutes of Provisors, Praemunire, and Mortmain.

For eight years Richard reigned in peace, but he had probably never forgiven the execution of his friends by the Appellants, and in 1397, believing that Gloucester had encouraged a member of Parliament to criticise the extravagance of the court, he determined to strike back. The House surrendered the offending member, and, encouraged by this success, Richard proceeded to attack the Appellants. Gloucester was seized and sent to Calais, where he died; the Earl of Arundel was executed, and Warwick banished. The Earls of Derby and Nottingham who had joined the King's party, were, however, created respectively Dukes of Hereford and Norfolk. But, shortly afterwards, Richard took advantage of a quarrel between the two to banish both. In the meantime he had forced Parliament to annul all the proceedings of the Merciless Parliament, to grant him the customs called *Tonnage* and *Poundage* for life, and to delegate its powers to a permanent committee of eighteen members—all devoted adherents of the King. He had now made himself an absolute monarch and was apparently safe from opposition. But the forces which were to overthrow him were already at work.

§ 86. **The Lancastrian Revolution.**—When John of Gaunt died, Richard gave his son Henry of Bolingbroke,

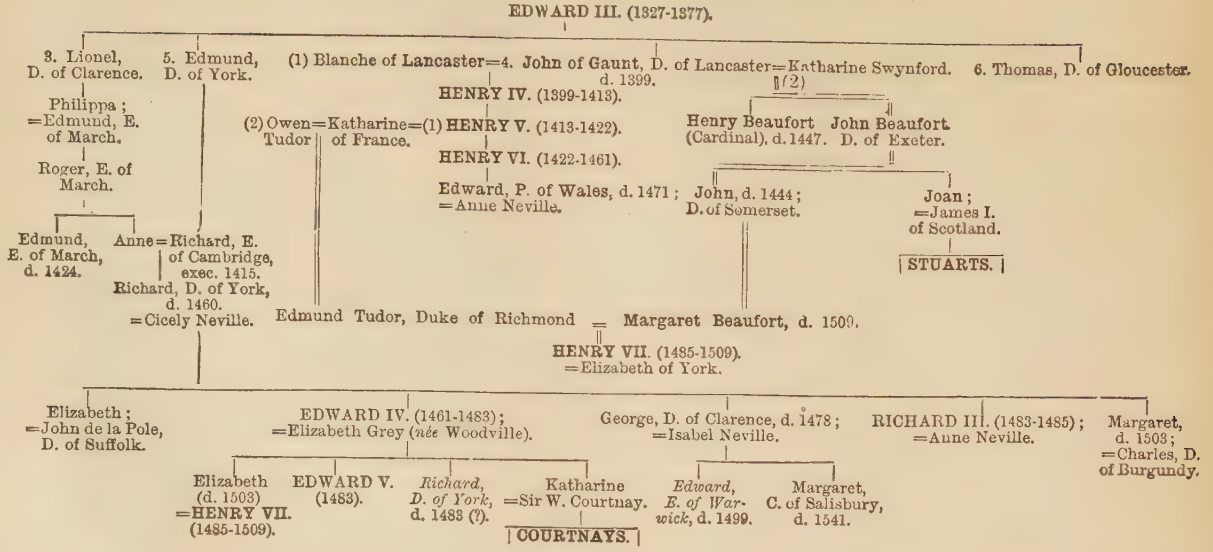
[1] This battle is sometimes called *Chevy Chase*.

Duke of Hereford, a pretext for returning to England by seizing the Lancastrian estates. An opportunity offered when Richard went over to Ireland to punish the Irish tribes who had been concerned in the murder of his heir, the Earl of March, and Bolingbroke landed at Ravenspur, near Spurn Point, declaring that he came with the sole object of claiming his family estates. Richard's friends were deceived by his assertions, and Richard himself was detained in Ireland by contrary winds. When the King at length returned, it was to find his cause lost, and he had no option but to make a formal resignation of his crown. His character was, and remains, a mystery. Whether he was throughout a tyrant, concealing his designs until he knew himself to be strong enough for vengeance; or whether his real nature showed itself in his early years, and was marred later by mental failure or brutalised by conspiracy and opposition, cannot now be known. But, deservedly or undeservedly, he shared the fate of Edward II., and in Pomfret Castle, a few months after his resignation, he died, probably of starvation.

Chronology of Chief Events.

1327. Murder of Edward II.
1329. Death of Robert Bruce.
1340. Naval victory of Sluys.
1341. David Bruce secures the Scottish crown.
1345. Philip VI. attacks Guienne.
1346. Battle of Crécy.
1346. Battle of Neville's Cross.
1347. Capture of Calais.
1348. The Black Death.
1351. Statute of Labourers.
1351. Statute of Provisors.
1352. Statute of Treason.
1353. Statute of Praemunire.
1356. Battle of Poictiers.
1360. Treaty of Bretigny.
1362. Statute requiring consent of whole Parliament to Customs.
1369–75. Renewed war with France.
1372. Defeat of English off La Rochelle.
1376. The "Good Parliament."
1376. Death of Black Prince.
1377. Death of Edward III. and Accession of Richard II.
1381. Peasants' Rising.
1388. The Merciless Parliament.
1399. Invasion of Bolingbroke and Deposition of Richard.

The Lancastrians, Yorkists, and Tudors.


EDWARD III. (1327-1377).
3. Lionel, D. of Clarence.
5. Edmund, D. of York.
(1) Blanche of Lancaster
=4. John of Gaunt, D. of Lancaster
d. 1399.
=Katharine Swynford.
6. Thomas, D. of Gloucester.
HENRY IV. (1399-1413).
(2)
Philippa; =Edmund, E. of March.
Roger, E. of March.
(2) Owen Tudor
=Katharine of France.
(1) HENRY V. (1413-1422).
Henry Beaufort (Cardinal), d. 1447.
John Beaufort. D. of Exeter.
HENRY VI. (1422-1461).
Edward, P. of Wales, d. 1471; =Anne Neville.
John, d. 1444; D. of Somerset.
Joan; =James I. of Scotland.
STUARTS.
Edmund, E. of March, d. 1424.
Anne
=Richard, E. of Cambridge, exec. 1415.
Richard, D. of York, d. 1460.
=Cicely Neville.
Edmund Tudor, Duke of Richmond
=
Margaret Beaufort, d. 1509.
HENRY VII. (1485-1509).
=Elizabeth of York.
Elizabeth; =John de la Pole, D. of Suffolk.
EDWARD IV. (1461-1483); =Elizabeth Grey (née Woodville).
George, D. of Clarence, d. 1478; =Isabel Neville.
RICHARD III. (1483-1485); =Anne Neville.
Margaret, d. 1503; =Charles, D. of Burgundy.
Elizabeth (d. 1503) =HENRY VII. (1485-1509).
EDWARD V. (1483).
Richard, D. of York, d. 1483 (?).
Katharine =Sir W. Courtnay.
COURTNAYS.
Edward, E. of Warwick, d. 1499.
Margaret, C. of Salisbury, d. 1541.

NOTE.—The Lancastrians and family names in dark type; eminent rivals of the Tudors in *italics;* sovereigns in capitals (the figures within brackets denoting the period of their reigns). The descent of Henry VII. shown by a double line.

CHAPTER VII.

Lancastrian Constitutionalism and Foreign Policy, 1399–1450.

(*a*) Henry IV., born 1367; married (*a*) Mary Bohun, co-heiress of the Earl of Hereford, 1380, (*b*) Joan, daughter of Charles II., King of Navarre, 1403; died 1413.

(*b*) Henry V., born 1388; married Katherine, daughter of Charles VI., King of France, 1420; died 1422.

(*c*) Henry VI., born 1421; married Margaret, daughter of René, Duke of Anjou, 1445; killed in the Tower 1471.

CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

EASTERN EMPIRE.	WESTERN EMPIRE.	PAPACY.	FRANCE.	SCOTLAND.
		Great Schism (1378–1417)		
Manuel II. (1391)	Rupert	Boniface IX. (1389)	Charles VI. (1380)	Robert III. (1390)
	Wittelsbach (1400)	Innocent VII. (1404)		James I. (1406)
Joannes VII. (1425)	Sigismund	Gregory XII. (1406)		
	Luxemburg (1410)	*Abdicates* 1415		
Constantine XIII. (1448–1453)	Albert II. (1438)	Alexander V. (1409)		
		John XXIII. (1410)		
		Deposed 1415		
		Martin V. (1417)	Charles VII. (1422–1461)	James II. (1437–1460)
End of Eastern Empire as a Christian State.	Frederick III. (1440)	Eugenius IV. (1431)		
		Nicolas V. (1447–1455)		

Henry IV., 1399–1413.

§ 87. **Henry IV.'s Constitutional Rule.** — Though Henry's claim to the throne was recognised by Parliament "with one accord," his position was in reality insecure. The fact that the young Earl of March (*cp.* Table, p. 117) had a better hereditary right made him entirely

dependent on his parliamentary title. But, though Henry had in fact been accepted by Parliament and was supported by the Church, it did not follow that he was approved by the nation. His accession was in fact little more than a party triumph. He had, therefore, not only to conciliate Parliament, but also to maintain a party amongst the nobles. He tried to do the first by agreeing to all the claims of the House of Commons; and he attempted to secure the Barons by bribery. But, unfortunately, his poverty was to prove a still greater source of weakness than the uncertainty of his title.

It was to the King's pecuniary necessities even more than to the insecurity of his hold upon the throne that the Commons owed the great increase of their powers in this reign. They compelled Henry to attend to their grievances before he received grants of money, or, in other and more technical words, they insisted that *redress must precede supply*. They made him submit the names of his Council to their approval and his accounts to parliamentary audit. They established the sole right of the Commons to initiate Money Bills, and thus they practically laid the foundation of that control over the purse-strings which ultimately gave the "Lower House" predominance over the "Upper House" in Parliament. Henry tried to add the support of the Clergy to that of the Commons by legislation against the Lollards. The *Statute de Heretico Comburendo* enacted that any person whom the bishops found guilty of heresy, and who would not recant, was to be handed over to the civil power to be burnt. To please Archbishop Arundel the execution of William Sawtre, the first martyr of the reign, was ordered even before the Act had become law.

§ 88. **The Political Troubles of Henry's Reign.**—In view of the endless wars and rebellions which filled Henry's reign, it is hardly surprising that his income should have

proved inadequate. His troubles began the year after his access on with the rising of the Earls of Kent, Huntingdon, Salisbury, and Rutland on Richard's behalf. Richard's death, moreover, involved Henry in disputes with France concerning the destination of the widow and her dowry, and Charles VI. used the opportunity to endeavour to acquire the rest of Aquitaine, to renew the raids on the south coast of England, and to help Henry's enemies in Scotland and in Wales. In Wales the English King had to cope with the rebellion of Owen Glendower, which did not die out until the end of his reign ; and though the Earl of Northumberland and his son, Harry Hotspur, obtai ed a victory over the Scots at Homildon Hill (Northumberland), and took Archibald, Earl of Douglas, prisoner, this was only the beginning of new difficulties. In the next year Henry had to face a formidable rebellion of the Percies themselves. Being short of money he had delayed to refund their expenses in defending the frontier, and he had also claimed their Scottish prisoners for ransom. He further offended them by refusing to ransom Edmund Mortimer—uncle of the young Earl of March and brother of Hotspur's wife—from Owen Glendower. Mortimer married Glendower's daughter, and, in 1403, the whole family group joined the Douglases in a conspiracy against Henry.

Henry, however, was able to defeat the Northerners at Shrewsbury before Glendower could cross the Severn. This battle is noteworthy for the fact that it was the first occasion on which the long-bow was used on both sides. The victory was decided entirely by force of numbers. It was the first battle in which the King's son Henry, the future warrior, took part. Hotspur fell in the battle. Northumberland, who had stayed in the North, was pardoned, but continued to conspire against the Crown until his party was finally crushed and he himself slain.

For complicity in one of these Northern rebellions Archbishop Scrope of York was executed. The act was a sacrilege in the eyes of Henry's contemporaries, and it did not add to his popularity or his reputation.

Peace nevertheless attended the King's closing years. The Scottish difficulties ceased when young James I. of Scotland, while on his way to France for education, fell into Henry's hands, and was retained as a hostage. The French troubles came to an end when the insanity of Charles VI. made him incapable of governing. A bitter contest for power immediately began between his relatives, the Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans. After the murder of the Duke of Orleans, by order of his rival, the Orleanists were led by the Count of Armagnac, and for many years afterwards France was completely paralysed by the quarrel between the Burgundian and Armagnac parties. These internal dissensions not only obviated all further danger from France, but also gave the English an opportunity for interference in French affairs. Henry IV., however, took no decided part in the conflict.

§ 89. **Death of Henry.** — After years of incessant struggle, and when his health had broken under the strain of constant anxiety, Henry's efforts were apparently crowned by success. He had crushed all the rebellions of his reign, and circumstances had freed him from foreign dangers. But the throne which he had obtained by treachery and violence, and preserved by dissipating its powers to secure support, was to prove a fatal legacy to his house. The crown had been reached by "indirect crook'd ways," [1] and Henry IV. was not the only Lancastrian who found it troublesome to wear.

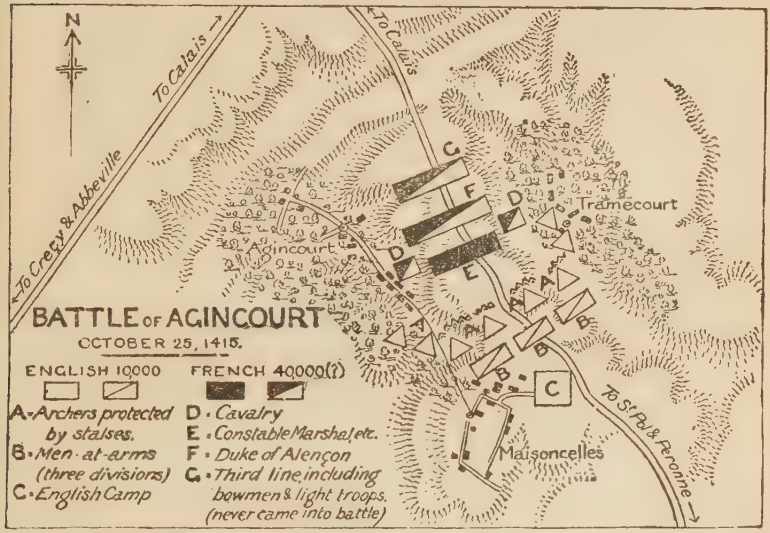
[1] Shakespeare, *Henry IV.*

Henry V., 1413–1422.

§ 90. **Rebellions of the Reign.**—The new King, like his father, had dreams of restoring the unity of Christendom by closing the Great Schism, and of leading the combined Christian armies against the Turks; and he, unlike his father, was able to make some progress towards the fulfilment of his ideals. But he had first to restore order at home; for his kingdom was not altogether at peace, nor was his hold upon his crown quite secure. The Lollards were still a source of anxiety, both political and religious, and in 1414 they appear to have attempted rebellion. After their failure and the execution of their leader, Sir John Oldcastle, four years later, they ceased to be a political force. A more serious conspiracy in favour of the Earl of March came to light in 1415. But when the leaders—Lord Scrope, nephew of the Archbishop who had been executed by Henry IV., Richard, Earl of Cambridge (see p. 117), and Sir Thomas Grey—were put to death, the internal difficulties of Henry's reign ceased.

§ 91. **Henry V.'s Renewal of the Hundred Years' War.**—Henry was now at liberty to turn his attention to foreign affairs. He had already claimed the throne of France, having apparently convinced himself not only that Edward III.'s claim was just, but also that it had descended to him, in spite of the better hereditary right of the Earl of March. His motive may have been the one attributed to him by Shakespeare, "to busy giddy minds with foreign quarrels," or he may have looked upon the war as a means to his great end—the unity of Christendom, or he may chiefly have desired territory upon the Continent with a view to securing the valuable trade with the south. Whatever his aim, it was not unsuccessful. For his victories not only produced contentment in England, but also gave him

an influence in Europe which did much to bring about the closing of the Great Schism. Having taken Harfleur, he imitated Edward III. by raiding Northern France and then retiring upon Calais. He was intercepted by a French army several times larger than his own at Agincourt near Crécy. The English army consisted as usual mainly of



archers, and the English King managed his troops with consummate skill. He placed them in a position which was flanked by woods and villages on both sides, and fronted by a ploughed field, turned by rain into a sea of mud. The small body of French cavalry, which opened the battle, travelled with difficulty over the soft ground, and was easily dispersed by the English arrows. The main body of the French army consisted, as at Poictiers, of dismounted

knights in armour, so ponderous that they could only move and lift their weapons with the utmost difficulty. The mud, moreover, impeded their movements, and they were soon incapable of effective resistance. At this critical moment King Henry ordered a charge. His archers, travelling, unhampered as they were by armour, with comparative ease over the heavy ground, fell upon the French knights and completed the victory. The English slew 10,000 of their enemies, more than the number they themselves had brought into the field, while their own losses were very small. This stupendous victory raised Henry to the height of his power. The Emperor Sigismund came to England to urge him to use his influence with the General Council sitting at Constance to induce it to end the Great Schism ; and Henry saw one of his aims realised in 1417, when the Council, having deposed the rival claimants to the Papacy, elected Martin V. in their stead.

§ 92. **Henry's Last Campaigns and Death.**—Henry's second campaign was fought in alliance with the Duke of Burgundy, and resulted in the conquest of Normandy. Shortly afterwards the Duke was murdered by the Armagnacs. As the Dauphin—heir to the French crown—was concerned in the murder, the Burgundians resolved that he should not succeed his father. Accordingly, by the *Treaty of Troyes*, Henry was recognised as present Regent and future King of France, and given the French King's daughter, Katherine, to wife. He returned to England in 1421, but he was speedily recalled to France to avenge his brother, the Duke of Clarence, who had been defeated and slain at Beaugé (Anjou). His last expedition was notable for the number of its sieges and for its use of the new weapon —cannon—first used at the siege of Calais. In the course of the campaign Henry's health failed, and he died rather suddenly at Vincennes near Paris. His contemporaries

reverenced him as a great warrior and a saint; but his successors had to pay the price of his reputation.

Henry VI., 1422–1461.

§ 93. **Continued War with France.**—Henry V. had appointed the elder of his two brothers, John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, and the younger, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, Regent of England. Parliament now insisted that they should be called not Regent, but Protector, that they should have the advice of a Council, and that Bedford should exercise some supervision over the government of England. At home he had to keep the peace between the two parties in the English Council, headed respectively by Gloucester and Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester. Abroad, his first care was to maintain the all-important Burgundian alliance; his second, to extend his nephew's continental dominions. Charles VI. of France had died shortly after Henry V. On his death his son, Charles VII., had been recognised as King south of the Loire, and Henry VI. of England accepted in Northern France. By marrying Anne, the sister of Duke Philip of Burgundy, Bedford confirmed the alliance between England and Burgundy, and the victories of Crevant (mid-France) and Verneuil (Normandy) strengthened the English position. Bedford made it still more secure by releasing James I. of Scotland from his long imprisonment, on condition that he should do his best to keep the peace between England and Scotland. But, at this juncture, the Regent's plans were imperilled by the conduct of Gloucester. He recklessly married an heiress to whose lands Philip of Burgundy had claims. Bedford, though with great difficulty, reconciled the offended Duke, and, once more united, the allies proceeded to the siege of Orleans.

§ 94. **The Siege of Orleans and Joan of Arc.**—The

siege of Orleans proved to be the turning-point in the war. Help came to France from an unexpected quarter. A peasant girl, whom the English called Joan of Arc, inspired by a deep pity for her suffering country and by an unfaltering belief in the visions which had called her to deliver France, made her way from eastern France to Charles VII.'s Court, and gained his leave to put herself at the head of his army. In three months she had relieved Orleans, had defeated the English in the battle of Patay, and had conducted Charles to his coronation at Rheims. She then felt that her work was done, and wished to return home. But, unfortunately for herself, she was persuaded to remain. In less than two years she fell into the hands of the Burgundians, and was delivered by them to the English. She was burnt at Rouen as a witch in May 1431.

§ 95. **The Loss of France.**—The English could not have held Northern France so long but for the disunion of the French nation, and the utter lack of confidence and of national spirit displayed by the people and the army. When the national revival effected by Joan of Arc was followed by a reconciliation between the ruling families, the English cause in France was practically lost. The force of public opinion had long been drawing Burgundy towards the French King, and about this time several events combined to separate him from England. When the English refused the reasonable terms offered by Charles VII. in 1435, Duke Philip finally adopted the French cause. With Bedford's death, which soon followed, the last hope of English success in France vanished. Just as France became united England was split into factions; for there was no longer any one to keep the peace between Beaufort and Gloucester.

§ 96. **Disunion of England and Loss of Normandy.**—Beaufort was the head of the peace-party, Gloucester of

the more popular war-party. First Gloucester and then Beaufort held the reins of power. It was during Beaufort's rule that the King came of age and supported his policy, and that Beaufort's kinsman, William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, arranged a truce with France. It was hoped that the truce would lead to a lasting peace, for one of its conditions was that Henry should marry Margaret, daughter of the Duke of Anjou and niece of Charles VII.

Three years later Gloucester was arrested and died in prison. Within a few weeks, his death was followed by that of Beaufort, and Suffolk became head of the peace-party. Suffolk was suspected of having compassed Gloucester's death, and he was already very unpopular. Not only had he arranged the King's marriage to a dowerless wife, but he had also ceded Maine and Anjou to her father as a condition of the match. The events of the next few years added to the unpopularity of his party. The Earl of Warwick and Richard, Duke of York, as successive governors of Normandy, had managed to defend that province against attack, but Edmund, Duke of Somerset, Cardinal Beaufort's nephew, who was now appointed, was less happy. The English were defeated at Formigny, and the capture of Cherbourg a little later completed the French re-conquest.

Chronology of Chief Events.

1399. Accession of Henry IV.
1400. Rebellion of Owen Glendower.
1401. Statute de Heretico Comburendo.
1402. Battle of Homildon Hill.
1403. Battle of Shrewsbury.
1405. Execution of Archbishop Scrope.
1413. Accession of Henry V.
1415. Battle of Agincourt.
1417–19. Conquest of Normandy.
1420. Treaty of Troyes.
1421. Battle of Beaugé.
1422. Accession of Henry VI.
1423. Battle of Crevant.
1424. Battle of Verneuil.
1429. Relief of Orleans.
1431. Death of Joan of Arc.
1435. Death of Bedford.
1447. Deaths of Gloucester and Beaufort.
1450. Battle of Formigny and capture of Cherbourg.

The Wars of the Roses

1450–1499.

NOTE—Yorkist defeats underlined.

EVENTS.	RESULTS.
1450. Expulsion of the English from Normandy.	Murder of Suffolk (May). Cade's Rebellion (May–July).
Return of York from Ireland, and of Somerset from Normandy.	
1451–3. Expulsion of the English from Guienne.	**1452.** York unsuccessfully demands the dismissal of Somerset.
Birth of Prince Edward during Henry VI.'s First Illness, October 1453. *York's First Protectorate: March* 1454—*January* 1455.	
1455. St. Albans (*First* Battle).	York defeats King Henry: Death of Somerset.
York's Second Protectorate: November 1455—*February* **1456.** 1458. *Grand Conciliation on Lady Day.*	
1459. Bloreheath.	Salisbury (Y.) defeats Lord Audley.
Followed by the "Rout of Ludford" and Parliament of Coventry.	
1460. Northampton (July).	Warwick captures King Henry.
Richard claims the crown: Parliamentary Compromise.	
,, **Wakefield** (December).	Margaret defeats and slays Richard of York.
1461. Mortimer's Cross.	Edward of March defeats Tudors.
,, **St. Albans** (*Second*).	Margaret defeats Warwick and regains Henry.
Edward proclaimed King in London.	
,, **Towton** (March 29).	Edward IV. secures the crown: 30,000 men killed.
1464. Hedgeley Moor and Hexham.	Nevilles defeat Margaret and the Percies.
1464. *Edward IV.'s marriage* } 1468. *Burgundian Alliance* }	*offend Warwick.*
1469. Edgecote.	"Robin of Redesdale" defeats Yorkist troops.
Warwick's Exile and Return: The Lancastrian Restoration.	
1471. Barnet (April 14).	Edward defeats and slays Warwick.
,, **Tewkesbury** (May 4).	Edward captures Queen Margaret.
Extinction of the First *Family of John of Gaunt.*	
1485. Bosworth (August 22).	Henry of Richmond defeats and slays Richard III. Final triumph of the Red Rose.
Union of the Roses by the Marriage of Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York 1486.	
PRETENDERS.	
1487. Stoke (near Newark).	Defeat of Lambert Simnel.
1492–9. PERKIN WARBECK *attacks Henry VII. successively from Ireland, France, Flanders, Scotland, Cornwall.*	

CHAPTER VIII.

The Wars of the Roses, 1450–1485.

(*a*) Henry VI., see previous chapter.
(*b*) Edward IV., born 1441; married Elizabeth Woodville, widow of Sir John Grey, 1464; died 1483.
(*c*) Edward V., born 1470; probably murdered in the Tower 1483.
(*d*) Richard III., *Crookback*, born 1452; married Anne Neville, younger daughter of the King-maker, 1474; killed in the battle of Bosworth 1485.

CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

PAPACY.	EMPIRE.	FRANCE.	SPAIN.	SCOTLAND.	TURKEY.
Nicolas V. (1447)	Frederick III. (1440–1493)	Charles VII. (1422)		James II. (1437)	Muhammed II. (1451)
Calixtus III. (1455)	*The remaining Emperors, except one, belong to the House of Hapsburg.*				*Capture of Constantinople, May 29, 1453.*
Pius II. (1458)					
Paul II. (1464)		Louis XI. (1461)	*Personal Union* (1479) of— (1) *Castile:* Isabella (1479–1504) (2) *Aragon:* Ferdinand (1474–1516)	James III. (1460–1488)	*End of Eastern Empire as a Christian State.*
Sixtus IV. (1471)					
Innocent VIII. (1484–1492)		Charles VIII. (1483–1498)			Bajazet II. (1481–1512)

§ 97. **The Struggle for a Change of Ministry.**—Suffolk had to bear the brunt of all the failures. Even before the final loss of Normandy he had been impeached on charges of incompetence at home and treachery abroad. The King was compelled to banish him; and while crossing the Channel he was captured and beheaded. His murder was followed by a rising in Kent, led by one Jack Cade, who called himself a Mortimer and a cousin of the Duke of York, and professed to be acting in his name. The in-

surgents, who at one time were masters of London, asked that the Duke of York, who had proved himself an able administrator, should be chief minister. The rebels were dispersed and Jack Cade killed. He left behind no proof of York's implication in the plot. But the news of the disturbance brought the Duke back from Ireland to protest against "the lack of governance," and, when the French took advantage of the factions in England to occupy Bordeaux and Bayonne, he tried to force Henry to dismiss Somerset, who had succeeded Suffolk in the royal favour, but without success. In 1453 the defeat of the Earl of Shrewsbury at Castillon caused the loss of Guienne, and finally discredited Somerset; the King was attacked by insanity, and Queen Margaret gave birth to a son. These events profoundly altered the position of the Duke of York. He was no longer heir to the throne, but he was able to secure the arrest of Somerset, and shortly afterwards he was made Protector of the realm.

In 1455 the King recovered. He dismissed York and released Somerset. York, in fear for his own safety, flew to arms, and called on his friends—including his brother-in-law, the Earl of Salisbury, and his nephew, the Earl of Warwick—to help him to remove Somerset from office. At St. Albans the first battle of the Wars of the Roses[1] was fought. York won the victory, and Somerset was slain. When Henry again became insane a few months later, York was once more made Protector, but the King soon recovered and York was dismissed a second time. Then the King, who truly said that "he was in charity with all men," brought about a great, but somewhat hollow, reconciliation on Lady Day, 1458. The Queen and the Duke of York marched in procession to St. Paul's and swore to be good

[1] So called from red and white roses worn as badges by the followers of the Houses of Lancaster and York respectively.

and true to one another. Margaret, however, gathered together a large force within eighteen months, and although a preliminary attempt to arrest Salisbury was foiled at Bloreheath, the Yorkists could not raise enough troops to keep the field. At Ludford on the Teme their forces dispersed, and Salisbury, Warwick, and York had to fly the country. In June of the following year the two Earls returned, and were strong enough to defeat and capture Henry at Northampton.

§ 98. **Causes and Character of the Wars of the Roses.**—The Wars of the Roses and the attack on Somerset originated, to all appearance, in nothing more than the refusal of the King to change his ministers. If impeachment failed there was no means of getting rid of a minister against the King's will, and the only resource left to the malcontents was war. Until the battle of Northampton, therefore, the struggle was a contest for office, and purported to be nothing more. But, after the battle of Northampton, York laid formal claim to the throne, asserting a better hereditary right than that of Henry. Whether he had long meditated this step, as Queen Margaret supposed, or not, he was now convinced that if good government was to be secured he must ultimately claim the throne. From that moment the object of the war was no longer a change of ministry, but a change of dynasty. Nor can it be denied that there was cause to desire a change in the government.

The House of Lancaster had been lamentably weak. It had been compelled to lean on Parliament for support; and parliamentary government had proved a failure. The House of Commons consisted mainly of the adherents of the great nobles, who by frequent intermarriage and by their connection with the royal house had become too few and too powerful. It had become the custom for a wealthy baron

to surround himself with a band of retainers, consisting not only of his tenants but also of the small landowners, who promised to "maintain" his quarrels in return for his "maintenance" of theirs, and who bore in token of the compact his badge or "livery." Since the time of Richard II. statutes had been passed against "Livery and Maintenance," but with little effect. With the aid of their retainers, the great lords interfered with the course of justice, intimidated juries, influenced the parliamentary elections, and engaged in numerous private wars. England had not known such anarchy since the days of Stephen.

Still the people blamed their rulers for what was largely their own fault. For the long-continued war and its humiliating close the nation itself, since it favoured a war policy while grudging the necessary supplies of men and money, was largely responsible. The Yorkists offered strong government, good order, and encouragement to trade; they also represented the popular discontent with the Clergy. The Wars of the Roses have been described as Wars of Noble Factions; and though, as has been seen, there were serious political causes behind the quarrels of the great families, this is what they chiefly were. The struggle was actually fought out between the lords and their retainers, and the dividing line between the two parties was drawn by family relationship or personal feuds. The geographical division of the war was further determined by the estates of the great families. Roughly speaking, the Lancastrian strength lay in the north and west, the Yorkist in the south and east.

§ 99. **The Course of the War.**—The course of the war was remarkable for its rapid changes of fortune. After the battle of Northampton it was arranged that York should be regent of the kingdom during Henry VI.'s lifetime and succeed him after his death. But Queen Margaret

would not agree to her son being disinherited. She gathered an army in the north, and defeated the Yorkists at Wakefield. York was killed. Salisbury was captured and executed. The Queen then marched southwards, and defeated Warwick at St. Albans, but she was unable to induce the Londoners to admit her wild northern troops; and while she was still parleying with the citizens, Edward, Earl of March, York's eldest son, having defeated the Tudors (see Table, p. 117) at Mortimer's Cross in Herefordshire, marched east, and, picking up the remnants of Warwick's army on his way, relieved the capital. Edward was formally recognised as King on March 4th, 1461, but his position was not secure until the Queen's army, which was retreating northwards, was defeated. He therefore hastened in pursuit, and at Towton in Yorkshire defeated and almost annihilated the Lancastrian forces. He then returned to London to be crowned. Margaret, however, did not despair. She sought help from France and Scotland; but Warwick controlled the English Channel, and Scotland was distracted by factions. Margaret's forces were defeated at Hedgeley Moor and Hexham (Northumberland), and she fled to France. A year later Henry VI. was taken in Ribblesdale and placed in the Tower.

At this point Edward seemed fairly secure, but before long a quarrel broke out between him and Warwick, "the King-maker." The latter had several causes of complaint. He had wished to arrange a French alliance and marriage connection for Edward IV.; Edward had allowed him to proceed with the negotiations and then suddenly announced that he was married already to an Englishwoman of a Lancastrian family. Through her relatives the Woodvilles, the King then attempted to build up a great family connection to balance that of the Nevilles. He further objected to the engagement of his younger brother, the

Duke of Clarence, to Warwick's daughter, and finally, instead of a French alliance, he made an alliance with Burgundy, and married his sister Margaret to its Duke. The result was the union of Warwick and Clarence against Edward, and a renewal of civil war. A rising, engineered by Warwick in July 1469, resulted in a defeat of the Yorkists at Edgecote (Warwickshire), and for a time Warwick controlled the government. But in 1470 Edward contrived to raise some troops, and drove Warwick and Clarence out of the country. They fled to France where King Louis XI. reconciled Queen Margaret and Warwick, on the understanding that the House of Lancaster, when restored, should help him against Burgundy. In September 1470 Warwick landed in England, and expelled Edward in less than a month. Once again he had earned his title of "King-maker."

But, in March 1471, Edward landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, outmanœuvred Warwick and marched to London. On his way he was joined by his brother Clarence, who not unnaturally disliked the Lancastrian restoration. Warwick followed Edward south, but was defeated and killed at Barnet on April 14th. The King then hastened to meet Queen Margaret and her son, who had landed the same day in the south-west, and who were pushing northwards to join the Tudors and to rally the Lancastrians. Margaret was defeated and her son killed at Tewkesbury on May 4th. Within a month the male line of the first family of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, was extinguished by the murder of the saintly, but weak-minded, King, Henry VI. The deaths of both Henry VI. and his son were attributed to Edward IV.'s brothers, Clarence and Gloucester. This belief was encouraged by the Tudors and reflected in the Shakespearian plays of *Henry VI.* and *Richard III.*

§ 100. **The Reign of Edward IV., 1471–1483.**—Edward's position on the throne was now secure, and his too powerful supporters crushed. All his rivals were dead, and a son had been born to him. He was therefore free to turn his attention to foreign politics. He renewed the claim of Edward III. to the French throne, and sought to share France with Burgundy as Henry V. had done. In 1475 he landed at Calais and marched to Paris. But Charles of Burgundy did not fulfil his promise of support, and after a brief campaign Edward came to terms with Louis XI. By the *Treaty of Pecquigny* he abandoned his claim in return for a sum of money down and an annual pension. His daughter Elizabeth was also betrothed to the Dauphin. In his home policy, Edward's aim was to strengthen the middle classes at the expense of the nobility; and to develop commerce, partly to please the merchant class and partly for the benefit of his own purse. He encouraged William Caxton, who in 1477 introduced the art of printing into England; and he gave England a firm and orderly administration. But he did not renew the Lancastrian experiment of constitutional government. In the fourteen years which followed his restoration he summoned Parliament only twice; and when he wanted money in addition to the ordinary revenue, to his parliamentary life-grants and to the proceeds of forfeited estates, he exacted so-called *Benevolences*—in reality forced loans in the disguise of free-will offerings.

The only really noteworthy incident of the peaceful years following the expedition to France was the disappearance of the Duke of Clarence. He and his brother Gloucester had each married one of the Warwick heiresses, and they quarrelled over their estates. Edward's decision in favour of Gloucester alienated Clarence, who was always disloyal. The King arrested him, had him declared guilty of treason and put to death in the Tower. He was drowned, according to

the chroniclers, in a butt of malmsey wine. In 1483 Edward was about to punish Louis XI. for breaking off the betrothal arranged at Pecquigny, when he died, prematurely worn out by riotous living. He had been a selfish and a self-indulgent man, but his charm of manner had covered many faults, and he was at all events a skilful ruler and a good soldier. It was his proud boast that he had never been defeated in any battle in which he personally had engaged.

§ 101. **Edward V., 1483.**—No sooner was Edward dead than the Woodvilles and Gloucester began to quarrel over the guardianship of the boy-king. Gloucester was appointed Protector by the Council. The ease with which he had defeated the Woodvilles, his popularity, and the obvious disadvantages of a minority encouraged him to aim at the crown. He beheaded the two Woodvilles, Lord Rivers, the King's uncle, Sir Richard Grey, his half-brother, and Lord Hastings, the most able man in the Council, and he spread abroad stories that Edward IV.'s children were illegitimate, owing to some informality in his marriage. The Duke of Buckingham, a descendant of Edward III.'s son, Thomas, Duke of Gloucester (Table, p. 117), persuaded a number of representative men to offer Richard the crown, and, after a show of hesitation, he accepted it.

§ 102. **The Reign of Richard III., 1483–1485.**—A few months after Richard's quiet accession his popularity was destroyed by persistent rumours that he had had his two young nephews, Edward V. and Richard of York, murdered in the Tower. The story greatly strengthened the hands of his enemies. One of the chief of these was John Morton, Bishop of Ely, a Lancastrian who had accepted Yorkist dynasty after Tewkesbury, and whose aim was to bring about a union between the Lancastrian party and the

Yorkist malcontents. Henry VI.'s nephew, Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, was the chosen head of the Lancastrian party. Morton's first rising was unsuccessful, and an attempt by Buckingham, who had deserted Richard for Henry, also failed. Buckingham was captured and executed. Richard tried to induce the Duke of Brittany, with whom Henry had taken refuge, to deliver the latter into his hands, and he endeavoured to regain his popularity by passing through Parliament much useful legislation against *Benevolences*, *Maintenance*, and *Livery*. But his efforts were unavailing; and shortly afterwards the Yorkist and Lancastrian parties were finally united by Henry of Richmond's promise to marry Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV. In August 1485 Henry landed at Milford Haven, and, on his march through Wales, gathered to his banner many of his Welsh fellow-countrymen. He encountered Richard at Bosworth near Leicester, where the treachery of the Stanleys and of other members of the King's party gave him the victory. Richard fought and died bravely on the field. His crown, picked from a hawthorn bush where it had fallen, was placed on the head of the victor. In spite of his ability, his courage, and the fact that he governed well, Richard was regarded by posterity as a monster of inhuman wickedness, and, indeed, though his sins were probably exaggerated by the Tudors, enough crimes can be laid to his charge to brand him with an infamy hardly less than that of John.

Chronology of Chief Events.

1450. Cade's rising.
1451–3. Loss of Guienne.
1453. Battle of Castillon.
1453. Birth of son to Henry VI.
1461. Edward IV. becomes King.
1470. Henry VI. restored.
1471. Death of Henry VI.
1475. Invasion of France and Treaty of Pecquigny.
1477. Printing introduced into England.
1483. Accession of Edward V.
1483. Accession of Richard III.
1483. Insurrection of Buckingham.
1485. Battle of Bosworth.

BOOK IV.

THE TUDOR PERIOD, 1485–1603.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 103. **Retrospect.**—During the period with which we have just dealt, the way had been prepared for an increase in the power of the Crown by events which had weakened or destroyed every rival power in the realm, and by the development of new weapons of warfare. The end of the fifteenth century saw the close of the civil conflict known as the Wars of the Roses, during which the old nobility had committed "political suicide." They emerged from the struggle with diminished numbers and impaired prestige, no longer capable of acting as a check upon the power of the Crown. The Clergy were unpopular, partly because of their anti-national attitude, and partly because of their undue wealth and the corrupt and discreditable proceedings of their ecclesiastical courts. Their unpopularity, and the persistent attacks on Church property which were made by the Lollards in the fifteenth century, had destroyed their influence and rendered them dependent for protection on the favour of the King. With the decline of the Baronage and Clergy, the power of the Council, which under favourable circumstances had also served as a check upon the Crown, declined also. Finally, the Commons were weary of political strife, and eager to devote their attention to the development of commerce and the increase of wealth. They were ready to sur-

render many constitutional rights, which they were as yet too ignorant to use, in order to secure a central government capable of maintaining order at home and security for trade abroad. The sovereign power was, moreover, increased by the discovery of gunpowder. Prolonged opposition on the part of the nobles became impossible when the King possessed the only train of artillery in the country. The long-bow had gone far towards destroying the feudal levy; the invention of gunpowder was the death-blow of the feudal castle, and with it of the feudal military system.

§ 104. **Forecast, 1485–1603.**—At the same time the condition of England and of Europe created an urgent demand for a strong government. Internal strife had weakened England and ruined her prestige abroad, and even before the outbreak of civil war the parliamentary rule of the Lancastrians had proved itself a failure. Hence parliamentary rule had to be abolished for a time. Finally the discovery of the New World, the great demand for wool, and the progress of the cloth manufacture offered an infinite prospect for commercial development. The one essential was peace at home and abroad, and peace, as had already been made clear, could only be attained at that time by the power of the Crown. The difficulty was, therefore, solved by the establishment of the Tudor monarchy. The Tudors built up a strong government by forcing the Baronage and the Clergy to bow to their will, and by conciliating the great mass of the people. They also restored English prestige on the Continent, and under their rule England first became a great maritime power.

§ 105. **The New Monarchy.**—The condition of Europe, quite as much as that of England, made the growth of a strong English monarchy very necessary. During the

latter half of the fifteenth century, Louis XI. had established a strong monarchy in France by bringing the great fiefs under the direct rule of the Crown; and Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile had not only united their kingdoms by marriage, but had also acquired control of the other Spanish states and so laid the foundations of the powerful kingdom of Spain.

In each case the strength of the monarchy was due largely to the fact that the king acquired an effective control over the Church, and dominated the nobility by means of the new military weapon—artillery. If a new monarchy of a similar type had not arisen in England, that country must have inevitably fallen under the sway of one or the other of her formidable neighbours and become, like Italy and the Netherlands, the prey of foreigners. In the sixteenth century it often seemed that a similar fate might await England. The peril was greatest when Queen Mary married Philip II. of Spain; but it was fortunately averted by her speedy death. The existence of this danger, however, affected English policy for the rest of the century. But the Tudors were, on the whole, able to keep England free from foreign entanglements. In the early Roman Republic, during times of great external danger, "dictators" were instituted with exceptional powers, and the free constitution abrogated; thus by analogy the Tudor monarchy has been called a dictatorship.

§ 106. **The Renaissance.**—At the same time Europe was passing through a profound intellectual change which is called "the Renaissance" or "new birth," because it so completely transformed the life, thought, and ideas of the inhabitants of Western Europe that they seemed to have been born again. For a long time the Ottoman Turks had threatened the Eastern Roman Empire,

and in 1453 when they finally stormed its capital, Constantinople, there was more frequent intercourse between the "Greeks" and the "Latins"; and, especially after 1453, many scholars to whom Greek was a living language were driven to take refuge in Italy. The works and ways of thought of the old Greek writers were thus revealed to the learned men of the West, who for the most part had been ignorant of Greek during the last ten centuries. But this "renaissance" would have affected only a handful of leisured scholars, or would have spread beyond that circle so slowly as to pass unnoticed, had it not been accompanied by inventions of a mechanical kind. In the fourteenth century the art of making paper had been discovered, and about the time of the fall of Constantinople the art of printing from movable types was sufficiently understood for practical purposes. It was not till printing on paper was substituted for the costlier process of manual copying on parchment that the cheap and rapid dissemination of ideas became possible; and both discoveries gave a great impulse to the national literatures that were growing up. The Renaissance affected the arts of sculpture, painting, and architecture—these were the days of Raphael and Michael Angelo; but in England its most notable influence was in the fields of learning and literature.

§ 107. **Geographical Discoveries.**—Simultaneously with these intellectual movements, a series of geographical discoveries was revolutionising the popular ideas of the size and shape of the earth. At the beginning of the fifteenth century the only parts of the earth well known to Europeans were their own continent and the coasts of the Mediterranean; most of Asia was known only by the stories of rare travellers; the size of Africa and the existence of America were unsuspected. The

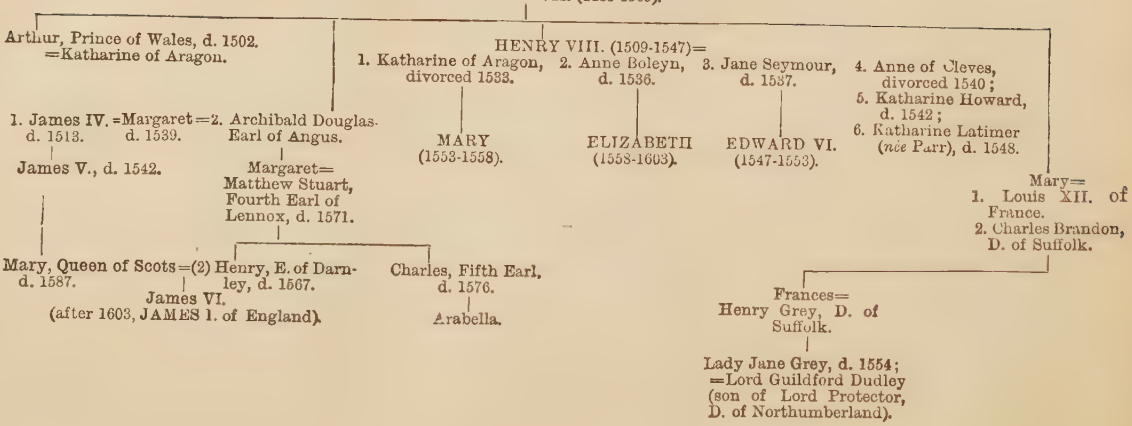
Crusaders had brought home tales of the East, vaguely called "India and Cathay"; and the trading cities of Italy, Venice, Genoa, etc., had grown rich by buying the products of the East from Persian and Arab merchants in the markets of the Levant and Black Sea, and distributing them throughout Central Europe. Partly out of a desire to share this lucrative traffic, partly from a wish to evangelise the heathen, other nations tried to discover different routes to the East; and in 1498 the Portuguese navigator, Vasco da Gama, reached the coast of India by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Meanwhile Christopher Columbus, a Genoese sailor in the service of Isabella of Castile, believing the earth to be spherical, had tried to reach the Indies by sailing westwards, and, though he failed in his main object, he had, in 1492, come upon the islands still known as the West Indies. His voyage soon led to the discovery of the American continents—the northern by John Cabot in 1497, the southern by Alvarez Cabral, a Portuguese, in 1500. One short decade of geographical discoveries thus doubled the size of the world as known to Europe, and gave the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal the leading position in commerce with the new countries.

§ 108. **The Reformation.**—The spirit of criticism, which sprang from the wider outlook and the New Learning of the Renaissance, intensified and increased the discontent with which the practices and doctrines of the Roman Church had been regarded by isolated bodies or individuals, since the days of Wiclif in England and Huss in Bohemia, and led, in the sixteenth century, to the great movement which is known as the Reformation. Its object was the improvement of the Church. The wickedness of several Popes, the evil lives, the avarice, and the absence from their livings of the Clergy demanded urgent reform, and

many men thought that the doctrines, customs, and ritual of the Roman Church required reform as well. Attempts at amelioration had been made by the general ecclesiastical Councils of the fifteenth century, but they had failed through lack of unity of purpose and through the clashing of political interests.

The prevailing discontent found expression, in 1517, when Martin Luther, a Saxon friar, openly opposed the sale of "indulgences," or papal letters absolving people from the penalties of their sins. His opposition became definitely doctrinal and anti-papal when he preached the doctrine of justification by faith. John Calvin, a Frenchman of Geneva, went further even than Luther in his repudiation of the ecclesiastical government and doctrines of Rome. The Bible, as interpreted by the conscience of the individual man, was the only authority he was prepared to admit. In England the movement was far more political than religious. It began with the question of Henry VIII.'s divorce, and, though the reign of Edward VI. saw some changes in doctrine, it was not until after the Protestants exiled by Mary returned from Geneva that the ideas of the more advanced Continental reformers exercised any great influence in England. When the Reformation began, the Church of Rome comprised the whole body of baptised Christians—practically the entire population of Western Europe, except the Jews; before the close of the century her authority had been repudiated by various sects and peoples, all of whom came to be known by the general name of *Protestant*.

Stemma of the Tudor Sovereigns.



NOTE.—English sovereigns in capitals (the dates within brackets denoting the period of their reigns); Scots sovereigns in dark type.

CHAPTER IX.

Henry VII., 1485–1509.

Born 1457; married Elizabeth of York 1486; died 1509.

CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

PAPACY.	EMPIRE.	FRANCE.	SPAIN.	SCOTLAND.	TURKEY.
Innocent VIII. (1484) Alexander VI. (1492) Pius III. (1503) Julius II. (1503)	Frederick III. (1440) Maximilian I. (1493)	Charles VIII. (1483) Louis XII. (1498)	Ferdinand and Isabella (1479) Philip I. Castile (1504–1506)	James III. (1460) James IV. (1488)	Bajazet II. (1481–1512)

§ 109. **Character of Henry VII.**—Henry Tudor was well fitted to restore order. Like the other monarchs of his line, he was both firm and tactful. He not only "liked his own will and his own way,"[1] but he could also "use a strange sweetness"[1] when he wished to persuade others to do anything that he had at heart. He did not, however, win the love of his people. He showed no sign of an unselfish devotion to his country. He was cold, crafty, and "infinitely suspicious."[1] His love of money, due probably at first to real need, seems later to have become a passion, and his rule was severe to excess. No sense of benefits received was allowed to soften his punishments. Even Sir William Stanley, who had fought for him at

Bosworth, was put to death without a chance of pardon as soon as the King found that he was plotting against the throne. On the other hand, Henry was brave, cautious, clear-sighted, and as industrious as Henry II. If not loved, he was at least respected and admired.

§ 110. **Henry's Position and its Perils.**—Henry's title was open to dispute, and it was some years before his position was secure. He was the son of Margaret Beaufort and Edmund Tudor.[1] Margaret was descended from John of Gaunt, and represented a branch of the Lancastrian line —a branch, however, of doubtful legitimacy as far as the claim to the throne was concerned. Edmund Tudor was the son of Owen Tudor and Katherine of France, widow of Henry V.; thus he also was connected, though indirectly, with the House of Lancaster. He might have claimed the crown by right of conquest or in virtue of recognition by Parliament, but he preferred to assert his hereditary claim, "liking that title best which made him independent."[2] He therefore had himself crowned before Parliament formally acknowledged him as King, and he put off his marriage with Elizabeth of York until a still later date, for he meant to owe his crown neither to his wife nor to Parliament. By thus insisting on his Lancastrian title he roused the enmity of the House of York, and, though he married Elizabeth, the heiress of Edward IV., his position was endangered by the claims of the heir in the male line, the Earl of Warwick, Clarence's son, and by the mystery which hung over the fate of the young princes in the Tower.

§ 111. **Rebellions of the Reign.**—The rebels of this reign found it useful to impersonate one of the King's possible rivals. Thus Lambert Simnel, the son of an Oxford tradesman, pretended to be the Earl of Warwick,

[1] See Table on p. 117. [2] Bacon, *Henry VII.*

whom Henry had taken the precaution to imprison in the Tower; and Perkin Warbeck, the son of a Flemish boatman, called himself Richard, the younger of the murdered princes. Both impostors were encouraged by Margaret, Dowager Duchess and Regent of Burgundy, sister of Edward IV. and Henry's most bitter enemy. Simnel's rising was easily put down. The insurgents were defeated at Stoke (near Newark), and Henry showed his contempt for them by giving Lambert a post in his kitchen.

Perkin Warbeck, on the other hand, was a source of anxiety for some years. His claim was difficult to disprove, since Henry could not produce the murdered prince from the Tower, as he had done the Earl of Warwick when Simnel revolted. Warbeck, moreover, received support from Flanders, France, Ireland and Scotland; the Scottish King allowed him to marry a relative of his own, Lady Katherine Gordon, and invaded England on his behalf. After an adventurous career he at last surrendered and was imprisoned in the Tower (1497). Two years later he and his fellow-prisoner, the Earl of Warwick, tried to escape, and Henry took the opportunity of putting both to death. Of the three de la Poles, the sons of Edward IV.'s sister Elizabeth, one, the Earl of Lincoln, had supported Lambert Simnel and fallen at Stoke. The others fled abroad, one ultimately surrendering on condition that his life should be spared.

§ 112. **Home Policy of Henry VII.**—The nobles were not yet harmless when Henry came to the throne. His first care, therefore, was "to bridle" the "stout gentlemen"[1] who endangered the peace of the country and over-awed the local courts with liveried retainers. The King alone, through his Council, could deal with these abuses, and he now established a special court with very great powers. It could convict without a jury and sentence on its own

[1] Bacon, *Henry VII.*

responsibility. As the King appointed its members, it was independent of the nobles. It was popular under the Tudors, while the monarchy was popular, and hated under the Stuarts, when the Crown was unpopular. It is known as the *Court of the Star Chamber*, because the ceiling of the room in which it sat was decorated with stars. By means of this court Henry put the *Statute of Liveries* in force with the utmost strictness. When he visited the Earl of Oxford, he noticed that the men called out to do him honour were retainers. "I thank you for your hospitality, my Lord," he said, "but I may not endure to have my laws broken in my sight." The Earl was glad to escape with a heavy fine.

Henry further weakened the old nobility by creating a new nobility, bound to him by ties of gratitude and interest. He also gained the support of the middle classes by his care for trade. Finally he set himself to become rich, having learnt from the fate of the Lancastrians that a king without money is weak. He accordingly revived the practice of raising *Benevolences*. His chancellor, Archbishop Morton, had an ingenious way of getting money out of unwilling subjects. If they lived well, he said that they were obviously rich and could afford to subscribe. If they seemed poor, he said that they must be saving and could pay out of their hoards. This dilemma won the name of *Morton's Fork*. Henry's heavy fines made him unpopular at the last, and caused the two lawyers whom he employed to raise money for him—Empson and Dudley—to be widely hated. At the same time his wealth gave him practically absolute power. He summoned Parliament often in the early part of his reign when he wanted money from it, but he ruled without it when he was rich.

§ 113. **Foreign Policy of Henry VII.**—The growth of strong monarchies abroad made Henry anxious to establish

a similar monarchy and to secure an influential position among the continental powers. The poverty of the Crown and the disorder of England obliged him to gain his end by peaceful means. He was only drawn into one war. Gratitude for past aid and a desire to check the growth of French power prompted him to make an effort to save Brittany from falling into the hands of France. But, when his last troops landed, Anne, the daughter and heiress of the late Duke, was already married to the French King, and Henry made peace at Estaples in return for a large sum of money. Henry had every reason to court the goodwill of his neighbours. Flanders in particular, owing to the importance of its trade with England and the hostility of the Duchess of Burgundy, had to be conciliated, and the King made two commercial treaties with the Archduke Philip. They were called the *Intercursus Magnus*[1] and the *Intercursus Malus*,[2] the latter being so named by the Flemish because they considered it unduly favourable to England. The King also strengthened his position by the marriages of two of his children. He sought the friendship of Spain as a bulwark against the growing power of France by marrying his son Arthur to Katherine, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella (1501). And by giving his daughter Margaret to James IV. of Scotland (1503), he secured his northern frontier against inroads and deprived France of her ally in his rear. Though he did not actively interfere in the struggle of the continental Powers for possessions in Italy, which began in his reign, he tried to adjust the Balance of Power between France and Spain.

§ 114. **Ireland.**—Ireland was Yorkist in sympathy, and therefore unruly in the early part of Henry VII.'s reign. The King was too fully occupied in England to spare it much personal attention, but later his deputies—Sir Edward

[1] The Great Treaty, 1496. [2] The Bad Treaty, 1506.

Poynings and the Earl of Kildare—kept the country quiet on the whole. During the rule of the former, the enactments known as *Poynings' Law* were passed by a Parliament at Drogheda. It was declared, first, that all laws then in force in England should be equally in force in Ireland, and secondly, that no Parliament should be held or laws passed in Ireland without the previous consent of the English Privy Council. The dependence of the Irish Government on the English was thus ensured.

§ 115. **Henry's Work and the chief Events of his Reign.** —In 1509 the King died and was buried at Westminster in the chapel which he had begun to build. His eldest son having died in 1502, he left three children only—Margaret, Queen of Scotland, Henry and Mary, both still unmarried. His reign coincided with important discoveries abroad, in which England played a small part only, but of which she was destined to reap the greatest advantage. For these discoveries meant that the future of European commerce lay with the powers which possessed an Atlantic seaboard, and among them England as an island had an advantage. This reign also saw the last stage in Gothic architectural design.[1] Perpendicular had now taken the place of flowing lines in window-tracery. These straight lines, together with an excess of ornament, marked a decline in beauty, and hinted at the coming decay of the art. Henry's work was complete at his death. He had given England peace and order. He had done much to further commerce both by his treaties and by strengthening the fleet. He had taken the first step towards the future union of Britain by marrying his daughter to James IV. of Scotland, and he had given England a position of

[1] The "Early English" had been replaced in the fourteenth century by the more elaborate "Decorated" style, and this now gave place to Perpendicular architecture.

some importance on the Continent. Though his work was not brilliant, he had laid the foundations for the power and fame of his successors, and his reputation when he died, "though great at home, was greater abroad."[1]

Chronology of Chief Events.

1487. Simnel's Rebellion and Battle of Stoke.
1491–7. Warbeck's Rising.
1492. Treaty of Estaples.
1495. Poynings' Law.
1496. Intercursus Magnus.
1499. Execution of Warbeck and Warwick.
1501. Marriage of Arthur and Katherine of Aragon.
1503. Marriage of Margaret and James IV. of Scotland.

[1] Bacon, *Henry VII.*

CHAPTER X.

Henry VIII., 1509–1547.

Born 1491; married Katherine of Aragon, widow of his elder brother Arthur, 1509; for his five later marriages see §§ 121, 123; died 1547.

CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

PAPACY.	EMPIRE.	FRANCE.	SPAIN.	SCOTLAND.	TURKEY.
Julius II. (1503) Leo X. (1513) Hadrian VI. (1522) Clement VII. (1523) Paul III. (1534)	Maximilian (1493) Charles V. (1519–1558)	Louis XII. (1498) Francis I. (1515–1547)	Ferdinand (1479) (King in Aragon, Regent in Castile, after 1504) Charles I. (Emperor Charles V.) (1516–1556)	James IV. (1488) James V. (1513) Mary (1542)	Bajazet II. (1481) Selim I. (1512) Suleiman I. *the Magnificent* (1520–1566)

§ 116. **Accession and Position of Henry VIII.**—A reign never opened with more promise than that of Henry VIII. The new King was young and handsome; able and well-educated; genial and popular, and gifted with a singular force of character. From his father he had inherited wealth and a recognised position among the princes of Europe. Above all, his title was undisputed. His first deeds added to the favour with which he was regarded. By marrying Katherine of Aragon, he continued the alliance with Spain, and he sent the hated Empson and Dudley to the block. This last act was characteristic of his later career. Empson and Dudley had been his father's

faithful servants, and to their zeal he himself owed much of his wealth; but Henry knew neither mercy nor gratitude where his own interests were concerned.

§ 117. **The Balance of Power.**—The ruling motive of Henry's foreign policy was ambition. Sometimes it led him to desire military glory; sometimes he was content to hold the balance between the rival powers of France and Spain, and imagine himself the arbitrator of Europe. He first dreamt of a conquest of France as brilliant as that of Henry V. An opportunity came in 1511. The Pope was eager to drive the French from Italy, and to this end he had formed the *Holy League* with Venice, Ferdinand of Spain, the Emperor Maximilian, and Henry VIII. against France. The English King sent an expedition to attack France from the south, and when that failed he undertook an invasion of Northern France, which met with some success.

Near Guinegate he won the *Battle of the Spurs*—so called because of the rapid flight of the French. But he realised that his resources were not great enough to enable him to conquer France, and being weary of the indifferent treatment he received from his allies, he allowed himself to be bought off for a million crowns, and agreed to a marriage between his sister Mary and the French King, Louis XII. The alliance did not last long. Louis died a few weeks later, and his widow married Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. As usual, war with France meant war with Scotland. In 1513 the Scots invaded England, and a fierce battle was fought at Flodden Field. The English were victorious, and James IV. of Scotland was killed.

Henry then adopted a balancing policy for a time. In this he was encouraged by his minister, Thomas Wolsey, a man of humble birth, but of great ability, whose diplo-

matic services during the recent wars had brought him rapid promotion. Henry appointed him Chancellor, and induced the Pope to make him first Cardinal and in 1517 Papal Legate. While Wolsey was rising to power important changes were taking place in European politics. In the course of a few years, not only Louis of France but also Ferdinand of Spain and the Emperor Maximilian died. Louis was succeeded by Francis I.; Ferdinand and Maximilian by their grandson Charles, who inherited Spain, Naples, and Sicily from the one, and Austria from the other, as well as the Netherlands and the County of Burgundy, which had belonged to Maximilian's wife, the daughter of Charles the Bold. He was also elected Emperor. A contest between Louis and Charles was imminent.

The part that England should play in the inevitable struggle remained to be decided. Trade interests and Henry's marriage suggested an alliance with Spain between these two princes, and for the good of the country peace was desirable; but it was not to the interest of England that either France or Spain should become too powerful. To prevent the predominance of either power, therefore, and also because he could get better terms from the one which stood most in need of aid, Henry inclined to support the weaker side. During the first eighteen years of his reign he was as a rule on good terms with Charles, but his relations with France varied. In 1520 he arranged a friendly meeting with Francis at Calais, where the two Kings both displayed such astounding magnificence that the place where they met was called the *Field of the Cloth of Gold.* Two years later Henry in alliance with Charles made an unsuccessful invasion of France. But the year of Francis I.'s defeat and capture by the Emperor at Pavia (1525) saw him definitely on the side of France. An Anglo-French alliance seemed necessary to balance the

power of Charles, which was further increased, in 1527, when he captured Rome and obtained control over the Papacy. But to offend so influential a monarch as Charles V. was clearly dangerous. Henry, however, deliberately ran this risk when he shortly afterwards divorced the Emperor's aunt, Katherine of Aragon.

§ 118. **The King's Divorce and Wolsey's Fall.**—Henry had no male heir, and that he was anxious about the succession is shown by the fact that he had already executed two possible claimants—Edmund de la Pole (1513) and the Duke of Buckingham (1521). The death of all Katherine's children, except one daughter, Mary, seemed to him a divine judgment on his union, and he began to suffer from conscientious scruples about his conduct in marrying his brother's widow. His determination to divorce Katherine was due in part to his desire for a male heir, and in part to his wish to marry Anne Boleyn, one of Katherine's maids-of-honour. He had obtained a dispensation for his first marriage from one Pope and he now applied to another to annul it. But Clement VII. must have realised that to reverse a predecessor's act would be likely to damage the prestige of the Papacy, and he dared not offend the Emperor Charles V., who was supreme at that time in Italy. He accordingly temporised. He answered Henry's application by appointing a Legatine Commission, consisting of the Cardinals Wolsey and Campeggio, to examine the case in London. After a sitting of two months no conclusion was arrived at, and the case was cited to Rome. Henry was enraged by this disappointment, and he wreaked his wrath on Wolsey. He dismissed the Cardinal from his Chancellorship in 1529, and next year accused him of high treason. Wolsey died at Leicester Abbey on his way to answer the charge (1530).

§ 119. **Wolsey's Domestic Policy.**—Foreign politics had

always had the first claim on Wolsey's attention because he believed that a growing trade and peace at home were best secured by a strong position abroad. So though his aims were great, his achievements in the region of domestic politics were small. He saw that the Church needed reform; he desired to improve the morals of the Clergy, to diminish their wealth, and to curtail their privileges; but he merely suppressed some ill-conducted monasteries and devoted the money thus obtained to educational purposes. He had also at heart the advancement of the New Learning, but here again he did little more than found a College[1] at Oxford, and a school at Ipswich. The chief object of his policy was to raise the King to the highest power in the State, believing that the King alone could guide England through the political, social, and economic changes of the time. He consequently cared little for constitutional forms, and he had no faith in parliamentary government. Parliament was only summoned once during his ministry, and then it was solely for the purpose of granting supplies. He was a faithful servant of the King, but he was thrown aside like a worn-out glove as soon as Henry ceased to find him useful. The tragedy of his career is echoed by his dying words—"Had I but served God as diligently as I have served the King, He would not have given me over in my grey hairs."

§ 120. **The Reformation.**—It was the evident hopelessness of obtaining a divorce from Rome which made Henry desire to abolish the right of appeal to the Papacy. This could only be done by a complete separation of the English Church from Rome. Henry's opposition to Rome was therefore essentially political, not religious; and he remained throughout his reign as conservative in doctrine as he had been in

[1] Now Christ Church.

1521, when he wrote the treatise against Martin Luther, for which a grateful Pope bestowed upon him the title of *Fidei Defensor*,[1] still attached to the English crown. In his opposition to doctrinal change Henry represented the feeling of the nation as a whole. Though the abuses in the Church and the growing unpopularity of the Clergy had already prepared, and were still preparing, the minds of the people for the Reformation, there was as yet no general desire for reform in doctrine. And so it happened that the English Reformation did not begin, as on the Continent, with rebellion against the abuses of the Church and a criticism of its doctrines. Nor did it spread, as abroad, from the people to the princes. Instead it originated with the King himself, and Henry's object was to assert his supremacy in his own kingdom over Church as well as State.

§ 121. **The Long Parliament of the Reformation.**—To give an appearance of legality and national support to his measures against the Pope, Henry summoned a Parliament, in 1529, which has been called the Long Parliament of the Reformation. It was a packed Parliament, not difficult to coerce or persuade. Henry found it willing, and managed it so skilfully that it had every appearance of suggesting what in reality had been prompted by the King. The only way in which it can be said to have represented the nation was in its dislike of clerical influence. In the first session its legislation was directed against various ecclesiastical abuses. Its second session was unimportant; but the contemporary session of Convocation marked a stage in the ecclesiastical revolution. The whole nation was ingeniously charged with having incurred the guilt of *Praemunire* by recognising the authority

[1] Defender of the Faith.

which Wolsey exercised as Papal Legate, though he did so under the express licence of the King. Parliament secured a free pardon for the laity; but the Clergy could only obtain a similar pardon by paying a heavy fine to the King and by acknowledging him Supreme Head of the Church as far as allowed by the law of Christ. In the following year Convocation was compelled to admit that it could only be summoned by the King's order; and that it could not make binding canons without the King's consent.

As the Pope still continued to refuse the divorce, Henry obtained from Parliament, now in its third session, authority to stop the customary payments to the Pope of annates or first-fruits (1532). The Pope was thus threatened with a loss of revenue if he still proved unyielding. In the following session (1534) the *First Statute of Appeals* was passed, declaring that there could be no appeal in suits concerning wills, marriages, and divorces from the spiritual courts of the realm. In virtue of this statute, Thomas Cranmer, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, pronounced the marriage with Katherine to have been invalid from the beginning, and that with Anne Boleyn, which had been secretly celebrated a few months before, to be legal. Shortly afterwards the new Queen gave birth to the daughter who was to become the famous Queen Elizabeth. The Pope annulled Cranmer's decision and excommunicated the King. Henry replied by complaining to Parliament that he had discovered that the bishops had taken an oath to the Pope contrary to the one they had taken to himself. He thus cowed the Convocation of Canterbury into declaring that the Pope "hath no greater jurisdiction conferred upon him by God in this kingdom of England than hath any other bishop;" and Parliament embodied the clerical submission of 1532 in the *Second Statute of Appeals* (1534). Further acts of this, the fifth, session

withdrew annates, Peter's pence and other customary dues from the Pope; regulated the royal succession; declared Mary illegitimate; and entailed the crown on the King's children by Anne. The *Second Statute of Annates* laid down the procedure still followed in the appointment of an Anglican Bishop: the Crown nominates, and the Chapter has "leave to elect" [1] the Crown nominee.

The breach with Rome was thus rendered complete. The judicial and financial powers which had belonged to the Pope, were for the most part transferred by Parliament to the King by the *First Statute of Supremacy* (1534), and a supplementary Act subjected to the penalties of high treason all who called the King "a heretic, schismatic, infidel and usurper of the crown." The Royal Supremacy as defined by Henry was based on the precedents set by William I., Henry I., Henry II. and Edward III., but it went much further. Ecclesiastical dealings with any foreign potentate were no longer regulated merely but explicitly forbidden. The actual exercise of his new powers Henry entrusted to Thomas Cromwell, to whom he gave the title of Vicar-General in 1535. Cromwell had been Wolsey's servant, and after his death had gradually won a high place in the King's confidence. Throughout the year 1535 Cromwell and his agents had been busy collecting evidence of the vices of the monastic orders and the uselessness of the religious houses in England. Both the theory and the existing practice of monasticism were widely disapproved by the best men of the day, but Henry and Cromwell were actuated by a desire to remove the "garrisons of the Pope" and to divert their wealth to their own uses rather than by a genuine zeal for reform. A report of Cromwell's visitation was presented to Parliament in its seventh and last session; and the result was an Act which dissolved

[1] Congé d'élire.

all the smaller religious houses and vested their property, except a small sum for pensioning the inmates, in the Crown (1536).

§ 122. **Opposition to Henry and the Pilgrimage of Grace.** —Henry's measures did not pass without opposition. But the men who ventured to oppose him met with a summary punishment. Among the most distinguished were John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More. The latter was an able, witty, and upright man, who had been Henry's personal friend and Chancellor until his disapproval of the King's Reformation policy caused him to resign. He was the author of the *Utopia*, a sketch of an ideal commonwealth, in which he embodied his views concerning social reform. He and Fisher were both executed as traitors, for Henry considered that to deny his supremacy amounted to treason. In 1536 a great rising took place in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. The insurgents demanded the restoration of the religious houses and the expulsion from the Council of Thomas Cromwell and other "low-born heretics." The movement was political, and also agrarian (that is to say, it was directed against the new agricultural system of enclosing arable land for pasture). Above all it was religious. The insurgents called their march the Pilgrimage of Grace. The Duke of Norfolk, whom Henry sent against them, was compelled to promise that a Parliament should meet at York to redress their grievances, and that a general pardon should be given to all who went quietly home. But a further rising, in the spring of 1537, served as a pretext for executing Robert Aske, the head of the Yorkshire rebels, and other leaders. At a later date Henry beheaded the chiefs of the semi-royal families of Courtenay and Pole (Table, p. 117), including the aged Countess of Salisbury. But her son Reginald Pole escaped, and lived to undo some of Henry's work. About the same time there was a

rebellion in Ireland. It was subdued, and the heads of the Kildare family, the Fitzgeralds, or Geraldines as they were sometimes called, were put to death.

§ 123. **Events of Henry's Last Years.**—Early in 1536 Queen Katherine died, and a reconciliation with the Emperor became possible once more. A few months later Henry's second wife, Anne Boleyn, was executed on a charge of serious misconduct, and the King married a Wiltshire lady called Jane Seymour. Henry then induced Parliament to pass a second Succession Act declaring Anne Boleyn's daughter illegitimate. A year later Jane Seymour died, after having presented Henry with a son and heir. In 1539 the larger monasteries were dissolved. Their wealth was appropriated by the King; some was wasted; some was used to endow new bishoprics; some was devoted to the improvement of the Navy; but the greater part went to Henry's ministers and friends as a bribe to secure their support. The religious houses had served as centres of education, had relieved the poor, and provided homes for the friendless. No attempt was made to supply their place, and this omission aggravated the distress of the many vagrants already rendered homeless and reckless by the enclosures.

At the same time Henry showed his fidelity to the doctrines of the Roman Church by passing the *Statute of the Six Articles*, which made denial of Transubstantiation a capital offence. Yet he agreed to a proposal of Cromwell's that he should meet the danger of a union of the Catholic Powers against him by an alliance with the Protestant reformers on the Continent, to be confirmed by his marriage with Anne, the daughter of the Protestant Duke of Cleves. But Henry found his wife unattractive, and he disliked her heretical opinions. He divorced her, and married Katherine Howard, niece of the Duke of Norfolk. Cromwell had to

suffer for the failure of his policy. On the day of Henry's fourth marriage his faithful minister perished on the scaffold as a traitor and a heretic. Cromwell's character is something of a mystery. He was as able as Wolsey, but much more unscrupulous. Like the Cardinal, he wished to raise the King to the highest position in the State, but, unlike Wolsey, he cared little what ruin he accomplished in the process. His aims were, however, less dangerous than those of Wolsey because he worked with Parliament instead of without it, and so helped to keep English constitutional forms alive until Parliament was once more capable of controlling the government.

The years 1542–1546 saw England at war with both France and Scotland. The chief events in the struggle were the capture of Boulogne, the defeat of James V. at Solway Moss, which was followed by his death, and an invasion of Scotland. As a result of the war the alliance between Scotland and France became closer. Henry VIII. interfered in continental affairs much more than his resources justified, and more than was warranted by the actual danger from France and Spain, since they were well occupied in fighting each other. His foreign policy is said to have given him a high position on the Continent, but it is difficult to believe that it raised him in the estimation of Europe as much as a more straightforward course would have done; and it was nearly as fruitless as it was costly. Katherine Howard was not long Queen of England. She was executed on a charge of immorality, and the King took, as his sixth wife, Katherine Parr, who managed to survive him. Towards the end of his reign, believing that the Howards were preparing to retrieve by some desperate stroke the influence which they had lost with Katherine's disgrace, Henry arrested both the Earl of Surrey and the Duke of Norfolk. Surrey, who was a

soldier and a poet of some ability, was sent to the block. Norfolk was saved by the King's death on the day appointed for his execution.

§ 124. **Parliament under Henry VIII.**—The Reformation Parliament had been followed by others equally subservient. Within certain limits they had given Henry's proclamations the force of law; they had authorised him to dispose of the crown by will, and they had absolved him from the necessity of repaying his debts. This last enactment did not, however, relieve Henry from his financial embarrassments, and he continued the process begun by Edward III. of debasing the coinage.[1] At first the King made a profit by this dishonesty, because he could manufacture more coins out of a given weight of precious metal. But prices naturally soon rose to an extent which more than counterbalanced his gain, while the uncertainty as to the value of the coins hindered trade and increased the social distress.

Finally, Henry's reign saw changes in the constitution of Parliament. The suppression of the monasteries meant the disappearance of twenty-seven mitred abbots from the House of Lords. From this time forward the Lords Temporal have outnumbered the Lords Spiritual in the Upper House. Henry, by creating new peers who were to support his policy, further increased the majority of the lay nobility in the House of Lords, and new members were added to the House of Commons when representation was given, practically for the first time, to Wales, Cheshire, and Calais.

§ 125. **Death of Henry VIII.**—When Henry died there was no power in England, either civil or ecclesiastical, which could withstand the Crown. While allowing no change in doctrine, he had made himself undisputed master of the

[1] That is to say, he issued coins smaller in size and containing a greater proportion of alloy than those of the same nominal value previously in use.

English Church. But he knew that the ecclesiastical settlement depended on his own life. There was a large party in the State which desired a return to Rome; there was a smaller, but not uninfluential party, which wished for further progress in the direction of reform. So Henry tried to secure a continuation of his own middle policy by combining the two parties in the Council of Regency which he appointed for his son.

Chronology of Chief Events.

1509. Henry's Marriage to Katherine of Aragon.
1513. Battle of Flodden Field, and Battle of Spurs.
1520 Field of the Cloth of Gold.
1527. Divorce question.
1529. Fall of Wolsey.
1530. Death of Wolsey.
1529–36. Reformation Parliament.
1531. Recognition of the King's Headship.
1532. Submission of the Clergy.
1532. [First] Statute in Restraint of Annates.
1533. Henry's marriage to Anne Boleyn.
1533. [First] Statute of Appeals.
1533. Divorce pronounced by Cranmer.
1534. [Second] Statute of Appeals.
1534. [Second] Statute of Annates.
1534. [First] Statute of Supremacy.
1535. Execution of Fisher and More.
1536. Dissolution of Lesser Monasteries.
1536. Death of Katherine of Aragon.
1536. Execution of Anne Boleyn.
1536. Henry's marriage to Jane Seymour.
1536. The Pilgrimage of Grace.
1537. Birth of Henry's son Edward and death of Jane Seymour.
1539. Suppression of the Larger Monasteries.
1539. Statute of Six Articles.
1540. Henry's marriage to Anne of Cleves.
1540. Anne of Cleves divorced.
1540. Fall of Cromwell.
1540. Henry's marriage with Katherine Howard.
1542. Execution of Katherine Howard.
1542. Battle of Solway Moss.
1543. Henry's marriage to Katherine Parr.

CHAPTER XI.

Edward VI. and Mary I., 1547–1558.

(*a*) Edward VI., born 1537; died unmarried 1553.
(*b*) Mary I., born 1516; married Philip, King of Naples, afterwards Philip II. of Spain, 1554; died 1558.

CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

PAPACY.	EMPIRE.	FRANCE.	SPAIN.	SCOTLAND.	TURKEY.
Paul III. (1534)	Charles V. (1519)	Francis I. (1515)	Charles I. (1516)	Mary (1542) (Scotland under a Regency during her minority and absence in France)	Suleiman I. (1520)
Julius III. (1550)		Henry II. (1547).	(the Emperor Charles V.)		
Marcellus II. (1555)					
Paul IV. (1555)	Ferdinand I. (1556)		Philip II. (1556)		

Edward VI., 1547–1553.

126. Situation at his Accession.—In the reign of Edward VI., doctrinal reform was destined for the first time to receive encouragement and support from the Government. Though the reign of Henry VIII. had seen no departure from the Roman Catholic creed, a small party in the State was desirous of doctrinal reform. These reformers believed that God had revealed Himself to mankind through the Bible alone, not through Pope and Clergy, and they accordingly regarded many of the practices of the Roman Church as "human inventions" contrary to "the plain Word of God." Their chief representatives in Henry VIII.'s reign were William Tyndale, the translator of the

New Testament, and Hugh Latimer, who was deprived of his bishopric of Worcester for refusing to accept the Six Articles.

§ 127. **The Policy of Somerset.**—As Edward VI. was a minor, the government passed into the hands of the Council appointed by his father; but the balance of power which Henry had attempted to secure within it was soon overthrown. The progressive section of the Council got the upper hand, and procured the position of Lord Protector for their leader, the King's uncle, Edward Seymour, Lord Hertford, who was made Duke of Somerset. He had a genuine enthusiasm for religious reform, and for the welfare of the poorer classes. But he was imprudent, rash, and ambitious, and by attempting too much at once he defeated his own ends.

His first step was to invade Scotland in the hope of bringing about a marriage between the young Queen and the English King. He defeated the Scots in the battle of Pinkie Cleugh (near Edinburgh), but Queen Mary was sent to France and betrothed to the Dauphin. He then tried to further the Reformation in England by imprisoning the more conservative bishops, such as Gardiner and Bonner; by ordering an ecclesiastical visitation for the purpose of removing images and of seeing that English was substituted for Latin worship; and by giving the Crown the full right of appointing bishops, who had previously been nominated by the Crown, and elected by the Chapter. In 1549 Parliament passed the *First Act of Uniformity* to enforce the use of a Prayer-book based on the service-books hitherto in use, but re-modelled and written in English. The result of these rapid changes, for which the nation as a whole was unprepared, was to produce riot and rebellion.

§ 128. **Insurrection and Somerset's Fall.**—The first serious protest against the Prayer-book was a rising in the

west, which was, however, soon put down. But the people had other reasons for dissatisfaction besides religious discontent, and a month after the suppression of the first rising, a more formidable revolt took place in Norfolk under the leadership of Robert Ket, a wealthy tanner. The grievances of these insurgents were social and economic rather than religious.

In very early times, men, who had some common object in view, had united together to form a corporation or guild for mutual protection. In many towns there was a large number of these guilds, but the most important of them all was the Guild Merchant, to which as a rule all traders had to belong. In many cases the Guild Merchant became so powerful that it ruled the whole town. These guilds grew very rich, but on the whole their wealth was used for good purposes. The poor were educated, widows and the aged poor pensioned, and if a member fell into distress he could usually look to his guild for help. Part of their wealth, however, was set apart for the saying of masses for the dead, a practice which the Protestant zeal of Somerset considered a relic of Popery; and so the guilds were abolished and their wealth confiscated. A small proportion of it was used for founding grammar-schools, but most of it went into the pockets of the courtiers. The loss of the benefits derived from the guilds had increased the sufferings of the poor at a time when the substitution of sheep-farming for agriculture was throwing many labourers out of employment. The rebellion thus caused took six weeks to subdue. The insurgents were at last defeated by the Earl of Warwick near Norwich. The risings mentioned were only two amongst a number of disturbances so widespread and serious that the Government was obliged to employ foreign mercenaries for their suppression. The failure of Somerset's government, and his openly-expressed sympathy

for the poor had made him unpopular with the nobles. Early in 1549 he had been strong enough to send his brother — Lord Seymour of Sudeley and husband of Henry VIII.'s widow—to the block for a "treasonable" attempt to supplant him. But later in the same year Warwick got the upper hand. He was created Lord President of the Council and Duke of Northumberland, and in 1552 he secured the condemnation and execution of Somerset on a charge of conspiracy.

§ 129. **Ascendency of Northumberland.**—Just before Somerset's fall England had drifted into a war with France, which resulted after Northumberland's accession to power in the loss of Henry VIII.'s conquest, Boulogne. But the chief interest of Northumberland's rule is ecclesiastical. Cranmer, who carried out most of the changes, was then under the influence of the German Protestant refugees, and continental ideas began to affect the leaders of the movement in England, if not as yet the rank and file. The second Prayer-book of Edward VI. and the Forty-two Articles faithfully reflect the consequent change in doctrine. The use of this second Prayer-book was strictly enjoined by the *Second Act of Uniformity* (1552) which also imposed a shilling fine for absence from church. Edward's reign was by this time near its end. It had become known that he was rapidly dying of consumption, and it was equally clear that his sister Mary, who was a staunch adherent of Rome, would undo her brother's if not her father's work. Northumberland, therefore, persuaded the king that it was necessary to change the succession in order to preserve the existing religion. Edward accordingly appointed the Lady Jane Grey, a grand-daughter of Henry VIII.'s younger sister Mary (Table, p. 144), as his successor.

Mary I., 1553–1558.

§ 130. **Mary's Reversal of her Brother's Work.**—Lady

Jane Grey was married to Northumberland's son, Lord Guildford Dudley; and it was to increase his own power that Northumberland wished to put her on the throne. But his ambition had over-reached its mark. Mary was warned to keep out of London; Northumberland's supporters failed him; he was taken and executed as a traitor; and his daughter-in-law, who had been queen for nine days, was thrown into prison. Mary Tudor began her reign by releasing Gardiner and Bonner and by restoring the mass. Her first Parliament repealed all the ecclesiastical statutes of the last reign, and re-established the religious system imposed by Henry VIII. But it would not listen to any proposal to restore the Abbey lands.

§ 131. **Insurrection and the Spanish Marriage.**—So far Mary had the support of the majority of the nation. But in her desire to re-establish the Papal supremacy in England and her wish to marry Philip, the son and heir of her cousin Charles V., she did not carry her people with her. Even Gardiner, now her Chancellor, was not altogether in favour of the marriage, and its announcement in England was immediately followed by serious disturbances. Englishmen feared that it would mean dependence on Spain; subjection to Rome, since Philip was one of the most zealous champions of Roman Catholicism on the Continent; and war with his hereditary enemy, France. The most formidable revolt was that of the men of Kent under Sir Thomas Wyatt.[1] Mary's courage rallied the Londoners to her side. Wyatt was taken prisoner, and the leaders of the various risings, together with the innocent Lady Jane and her husband, were sent to the block. The Princess Elizabeth narrowly escaped the same fate. Mary's second Parliament gave its consent to the marriage, and in July 1554 Philip came over for the

[1] Son of the poet of that name.

ceremony. The alliance made England a mere instrument of Spain in the continued struggle (now complicated by religious difficulties) of the continental monarchies.

§ 132. **The Reconciliation with Rome and the Marian Persecution.**—The expected reconciliation with Rome immediately followed. Mary's third Parliament reversed the attainder of Cardinal Pole, and repealed all the anti-Papal legislation passed since the meeting of the Reformation Parliament, 1529. Pole returned to England as Papal Legate, and formally received the submission of the nation to the Pope. But the Church lands once more proved an obstacle to a complete reunion. Both Mary and the Pope had to accept the condition that they should not be restored to their former owners. Early in 1555 Parliament revived the anti-Lollard statutes of Henry IV. and Henry V., and the Government began that persecution of Protestants which earned for the Queen the title of "Bloody Mary." Altogether nearly 300 persons of all ranks and ages were burnt at the stake. Among the more distinguished victims were Hooper, Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer. Cranmer's heart failed him, and he tried to save himself by recantation. But Mary had no intention of sparing the man who had pronounced her mother's divorce. Cranmer, realising this, summoned all his courage and died bravely at the last. To him England owes much of the beautiful language of her Book of Common Prayer. This persecution was generally considered one of the results of the Spanish marriage, and it inspired the larger part of the nation with a great horror of Spain and of Popery. It did much also to win the people to the Protestant faith. Latimer's last words to Ridley at the stake were prophetic—"We shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England, as I trust shall never be put out."

§ 133. **Loss of Calais and Mary's Death.**—In the mean-

time England became involved in a war between France and Spain. The result was the loss of Calais, the last possession of England upon the Continent. To Mary, who was already saddened by her childlessness and her husband's coldness, the blow was crushing. She prophesied that after her death the word "Calais" would be found engraved upon her heart. Towards the end of the year she died of dropsy, and her decease was followed a few hours later by that of Cardinal Pole. Few rulers of England have so unswervingly done what they believed to be their duty as Mary did. Yet all her earnest efforts failed, and she had the bitterness of knowing that the daughter of the woman who had supplanted her mother would undo her work.

Chronology of Chief Events.

1547. Somerset made Protector.
1547. Battle of Pinkie Cleugh.
1549. [First] Act of Uniformity.
1549. Insurrection.
1549. Fall of Somerset.
1550. Loss of Boulogne.
1552. Execution of Somerset.
1552. [Second] Act of Uniformity.
1553. Death of Edward and Accession of Mary.
1554. Wyatt's rebellion.
1554. Spanish marriage.
1554. Reconciliation with Rome.
1555 58. The Marian persecution.
1558. Loss of Calais.

CHAPTER XII.

Elizabeth, 1558–1603.

Born 1533; died unmarried 1603.

CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

PAPACY.	EMPIRE.	FRANCE.	SPAIN.	SCOTLAND.	TURKEY.
Paul IV. (1555)	Ferdinand I. (1556)	Henry II. (1547)	Philip II. (1556)	Mary (1542) (Returns home from	Suleiman I. (1520)
Pius IV. (1559)		Francis II. (1559)			
Pius V. (1566)	Maximilian II. (1564)	Charles IX. (1560)		France, 1561; deposed, 1567)	Selim II. (1566)
Gregory XIII. (1572)		Henry III. (1574)			
Sixtus V. (1585)	Rudolf II. (1576–1612)			James VI. (1567) (His mother Mary executed, 1587)	Murad III. (1574)
Urban VII. (1590)		Henry IV. (1589–1610) (*First Bourbon King of France*)			
Gregory XIV. (1590)					
Innocent IX. (1591)					Muhammad III. (1595–1603)
Clement VIII. (1592–1605)					

§ 134. **Survey of Elizabeth's Reign.**—"The spacious times of Great Elizabeth" have become proverbial. The reign was marked by the settlement of the Church of England on the broad basis which still endures, and by the elevation of the State of England to a front place in European politics. It is famous for an outburst of literary activity, in which the works of the dramatist Shakespeare, the poet Spenser, and the philosopher Francis Bacon are pre-eminent. Under Elizabeth men like Gilbert, Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, and

Davys opened up every sea to English maritime enterprise. The long warfare between England and Scotland came to an end, and the first English conquest of Ireland was completed. With many of these achievements Elizabeth herself had little to do, but it was her wise government that gave her subjects the opportunity, which they turned to such valuable account. Under the preceding Tudors, More and Tyndale, Surrey and Wyatt had won distinction in literature, John Cabot and Richard Chancellor in seamanship; but it was in the reign of Elizabeth that England reaped the full fruits of the Renaissance in literature and the new geographical discoveries.

§ 135. **The Position of Elizabeth.**—Elizabeth had many dangers to face on her accession. In the opinion of the Pope, of Philip of Spain, of Mary Queen of Scots, and of many of her subjects, she was illegitimate; the nation had accepted her sister as Queen, and if Mary was legitimate Elizabeth was not, and neither her father's will nor Parliament could remedy the defect of her birth or set aside the hereditary claim of the Queen of Scots. The danger from Scotland had been increased by Mary's marriage with the Dauphin early in the same year, and by the fact that England and Spain were engaged in a war with France. Elizabeth's realm was, moreover, poor, and her subjects were divided in religious opinion. Her first care, therefore, was to obtain peace abroad: her second, to secure peace at home by an ecclesiastical settlement which, if it did not content, would at least pacify all religious parties. In the former object she was helped by the friendship of Philip of Spain. The succession of Mary Stuart would have meant the alliance of England with France, and that Philip wished to prevent at all costs. To his intervention, therefore, England owed her inclusion in the general *Peace of Câteau-Cambrésis*, 1559.

§ 136. **Elizabeth's Church Settlement, 1559.**—Elizabeth, unlike her sister Mary, seems to have had no strong religious feelings; but they were probably stronger than she showed, for she was well able to keep her own counsel. Throughout her reign, her thoughts and wishes were often unknown to William Cecil and Francis Walsingham, who were her trusted advisers for nearly forty years. Though she persecuted both Roman Catholics and Puritans, she had a special distaste for the opinions of advanced reformers like John Calvin of Geneva, for she at once detected the danger to her own authority of their independent views and the republican flavour in their doctrines. But it was practically impossible for the daughter of Anne Boleyn to recognise the Papal authority, for the Papacy had declared and must continue to hold her mother's marriage invalid and herself illegitimate.

Nor did the nation as a whole desire a return to Rome. Mary's reign had inspired the majority of the people with a horror of "Popery," though not of the mass. A minority, it is true, especially in the north of England, still clung to Rome, but, on the other hand, there was a Protestant party which, though its members were small, soon became very important. Elizabeth wished to conciliate all parties. She accordingly adopted the so called *via media*[1] of the Anglian Church.

Her first Parliament, by the *Act of Supremacy* (1559), revived all Henry VIII.'s ecclesiastical legislation, except the *Statute of the Supreme Head.* This title Elizabeth dropped because it was disliked by a certain number of Protestants as well as by Roman Catholics. She called herself instead "Supreme Governor of the realm in all causes ecclesiastical as well as civil." She kept the revised Prayer-book of Edward VI., but cut out the prayers

[1] Middle course.

against the Pope, and combined the two sentences in use for the administration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, so that the words might satisfy both those who believed in some form of Real Presence and those who did not. Finally, she considered herself justified, since she had made her settlement of the Church as moderate as possible, in demanding conformity to the law. Her *Act of Uniformity* (1559) compelled the attendance of the laity at church on Sundays and holy days, and the use of the revised edition of the second Prayer-book of Edward VI. under penalties of fine and imprisonment. An oath of Supremacy and Obedience was required only from office-holders in Church or State. All the English bishops, except one, refused to take the oath, and were deprived of their sees. The *Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion*, based on Cranmer's Forty-two, were drawn up in 1563, but not till 1571 did Parliament force the Clergy to assent to them. Elizabeth's Church policy was not at first acceptable to any party in the State. That it eventually received the support of the nation as a whole was due to the moderation which circumstances forced upon the Queen. It was political necessity also, and not preference, which caused Elizabeth to drift into the position of head of the Protestant Powers in Europe. The permanent opposition to her was Roman Catholic, and it was led first by Mary Stuart, secondly by the Papacy, and lastly by Philip of Spain.

§ 137. **The Struggle with Mary, Queen of Scots.**—On the death of Henry II. of France, in 1559, his son Francis, the husband of Mary, Queen of Scots, succeeded to the throne. The royal pair were eager to assert their claim to the throne of England. But before they could take any active steps they had to suppress a rebellion of the Scottish Reformers. The latter were under the religious leadership of John Knox, a disciple of Calvin, and the political leadership

of the nobles of Scotland, who called themselves "Lords of the Congregation." Their chief was Mary's half-brother, James Stuart, Earl of Moray. The regent of Scotland, Mary of Guise, mother of the Queen, attempted to subdue the rebellion with the aid of French troops. The Reformers, however, deposed her and sent to Elizabeth for help. Elizabeth gave it reluctantly. She objected to countenancing rebellion in any form, but she feared still more the establishment of French influence in Scotland. With the assistance of her troops the Scots were able to compel the French garrison to evacuate Leith. The same year Queen Mary lost her husband. In 1561 she returned to Scotland, and began to strengthen her position there. She refused to be bound by that part of the *Treaty of Edinburgh* which arranged for the renunciation of her claims upon the English throne, but she accepted the part which left the settlement of the Scottish Church to the Estates. She then entered upon her long course of hostility to Elizabeth. She was as unscrupulous and probably quite as able as her rival, and she was both younger and more fascinating. But she was not so cautious; and with the outbreak of religious war in France she could no longer hope for help from the French. It was to the interest of Elizabeth, therefore, to prolong the struggle of the Huguenots.[1] She sent them some help, and she even held Havre for nine months.

In 1565 Mary's re-marriage added a fresh menace to the safety of Elizabeth. Mary's second husband was Henry, Lord Darnley (Table, p 144), who like herself was descended from Margaret Tudor. When a son was born to Mary and Darnley—James, the future King of England—the English demand that Elizabeth should choose a husband or name a successor became urgent. But Elizabeth persistently declined. To do either would be to offend one

[1] The name given to the French Reformers.

or other of the religious parties she was trying to reconcile to her rule, and would, she firmly believed, lead to civil war. So, though she lent a favourable ear to many proposals of marriage, she never accepted one. Nor did she appoint a successor until she lay on her deathbed. The marriage with Darnley proved fatal to Mary's hopes. She disliked her husband, and not without reason. In 1567 he was murdered, and when in the same year the Queen of Scots married his murderer, the Earl of Bothwell, she was suspected of being concerned in the crime. The result was a rising of the Scottish nobility, followed by Mary's defeat at Carberry Hill, her deposition and imprisonment, her escape and second defeat at Langside (1568), and her flight to England.

By this last action she put Elizabeth in a dilemma. To restore Mary to Scotland or to let her go free meant a renewal of her claim on the English throne. On the other hand, to keep her a prisoner in England would be an invidious action. The latter course was nevertheless the one Elizabeth adopted. For nineteen years the Scottish Queen remained a prisoner in England, the centre of all the intrigues against Elizabeth. Within a year of her advent the Catholic north was in rebellion. The object of the rising was to put Mary on the throne, to marry her either to the Duke of Norfolk or to Don John of Austria, and to restore England to the Roman obedience. The Rebellion was suppressed, but not without difficulty.

§ 138. **The Papal Attack, 1570-1584.**—During Mary's captivity three energetic Popes—Pius V., Gregory XIII., and Sixtus V. — successively led the opposition to Elizabeth. As a result of the Council of Trent, they had put themselves at the head of the movement known as the *Counter-Reformation*, which was re-establishing the hold of Rome on South Europe, and even winning ground from

Protestantism in Germany itself. In England the intention of the Papacy was to place Mary Stuart on the throne by means of a Romanist rising and foreign aid. The Pope only awaited a suitable moment for the execution of his plan. Pius V. missed the opportunity of the Northern Insurrection, and it was not until the following year that he became openly hostile. He then published a *Bull of Excommunication and Deposition* (1570) against the Queen of England, and forbade her subjects to obey her. In return Elizabeth's Parliament passed two Acts, making it high treason to assert, without the authority of Parliament, that any other person than Elizabeth had a right to the throne; to call her "a heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, usurper of the crown;" to introduce Papal Bulls; and to reconcile any one to the See of Rome. The second attack with which Pius V. threatened Elizabeth was not made until the time of his successor. The Jesuits, or members of the "Society of Jesus"—founded by Ignatius Loyola, a Spaniard in 1534 for the preservation of unity in the Roman Catholic Church—had done more than any other body to stem the tide of Protestantism in Europe. Between 1579 and 1581, Gregory XIII. dispatched a small party of Jesuits to stir up disaffection in the British Isles. Scotland met the danger by the formation of the *First National Covenant;* England by an outburst of penal legislation against converts to Rome and their converters. Before the end of the reign more than two hundred persons died on the scaffold for their work in a cause which they considered religious, but which those who condemned them with equal justice called political.

§ 139. **Elizabeth and the Puritans.**—The Protestant party as well as the Roman Catholic party in the State was becoming more aggressive. In 1565 some of the Reformers protested against Archbishop Parker's action in

enforcing the use of vestments, and about the same time their demands for a "purer" form of worship won them the nickname of *Puritans*. In 1572 a certain Dr. Thomas Cartwright urged the substitution of a presbyterian[1] government for an episcopalian[2] in the Church of England, and the liberation of the national Church from the control of the civil government. Cartwright's advocacy of Presbyterianism had little effect at the time, but it was the origin of a long controversy in England. Towards the end of Elizabeth's reign she began to persecute all species of religious malcontents. She passed laws both against those who stayed away from church in obedience to the Pope's orders (*Recusants*) and against those who refused to go because they considered the Elizabethan ritual "Popish," or objected to the union of Church and State (Separatists or *Independents*). Three of the latter class suffered death for their opinions in 1593.

§ 140. **Elizabeth's Relations with France.**—When France, under the weak descendants of Francis I., became a prey to party struggles and religious war, its foreign policy was extremely uncertain. But on the whole England and France had both so much to fear from the power of Philip of Spain that they were as a rule inclined to be friendly. In 1570 Elizabeth was negotiating a marriage alliance with the Duke of Anjou, the younger brother and afterwards the successor of Charles IX., and nine years later with another brother, the Duke of Alençon. During the greater part of the reign, alliance with France was the corner-stone of Elizabeth's foreign policy, and even the massacre of 10,000 Huguenots on St. Bartholomew's Day (1572) did not produce more than a momentary breach between the governments of the two countries.

[1] Presbyterianism = a form of Church government by ministers or elders without the intervention of prelates or superior ecclesiastics.
[2] Episcopacy = Church government by bishops.

§ 141. **Elizabeth and Spain.**—For a long time events had been leading Elizabeth towards a rupture with Spain. From the first the English Queen and the Spanish King had been opposed in their religious, their political and their commercial aims. Philip was the champion of Roman Catholicism, Elizabeth the champion of the Protestants of Europe. Elizabeth wished to keep the powers of France and Spain equally balanced, Philip to secure the predominance of Spain. Thus when Elizabeth sought the alliance of France and encouraged the attentions of French princes, Philip felt himself free to intrigue with Mary Stuart, and the English Queen replied by doing what she could to help the Netherlands against Spain. England and Spain were, moreover, rivals for trade in Spanish and American waters. Spain and Portugal claimed—according to the Papal Bull of 1495—to have the sole right of visiting and trading in those parts of the world which they had revealed to the knowledge of Europe. The Papal decision was not acknowledged by Protestants, and for a long time a private war had been going on between Spanish and English adventurers.

Philip at length began to find these aggressions unendurable, for his extensive dominions were of little value if he could not freely communicate with them by sea. English sailors if they fell into the hands of the Spaniards were consequently tortured by the Inquisition on the ground of their religion, and the English occasionally revenged their comrades by counter cruelties. As a result a strong hatred sprang up between the two nations. But the most serious cause of quarrel was the aid which each monarch gave to the other's rebellious subjects. Thus Philip supported the Ridolfi plot of 1571, the Throgmorton plot of 1583, and the Babington plot of 1586, the objects of which were to assassinate Elizabeth and place the Queen of Scots on the throne.

The last brought Mary Stuart to the block. She was executed on a charge of complicity in this and other plots (February 1587). Mary bequeathed her claim to the English throne to Philip, urging that she died a martyr for her religion so that the Spanish king might have every excuse for avenging her. At the same time the crisis came in the Netherlands. William the Silent, the chief leader of the revolt, was assassinated in 1584, and Elizabeth, fearing that the Netherlands would be subdued, sent over some English troops, which came into conflict with the Spaniards at Zutphen. At this juncture, since he could no longer hope to suppress the rebellion in the Netherlands before beginning his attack on England, Philip pushed forward the completion of the Great Armada which he had long been preparing.

§ 142. **Defeat of the Armada and its Results.**—The Spanish fleet would probably have appeared in the very year of Mary's death had not Drake destroyed a portion of it in Cadiz harbour. He called his exploit—"singeing the King of Spain's beard." The Armada finally sailed on July 22, 1588. Its objective was Dunkirk, where the Prince of Parma, who commanded for Philip in the Netherlands, was to have 20,000 veterans ready to cross to England. As the Spanish ships sailed up the Channel they were attacked by the English fleet, and so severely handled that when they reached Calais they were thoroughly demoralised. Parma was not ready, and the Spaniards were not allowed to halt long enough to recover their order. On the night of August 6 the English sent fire-ships among them, and compelled them to put off hastily in the dark. For three days more the fighting continued, until the English supplies of powder began to run short, and a gale which set in from the S.W. enabled the remnant of the Armada to fly northwards. In attempting to sail round

the weather-beaten coast of Scotland most of the ships were wrecked. Only 53 out of 132 vessels reached Spain safely. Elizabeth and Philip agreed in ascribing the result to wind and wave, but in reality the storm only completed what the English fleet had begun. The English ships were smaller, more manageable, better built, and better handled than the Spanish. The defeat of the Armada finally ensured the civil and ecclesiastical independence of England and the security of Elizabeth's last years. During the rest of the war, with the exception of two Spanish expeditions to Ireland, the initiative fell to England. Among the notable exploits of this period should be mentioned Grenville's heroic fight on the *Revenge* at "Flores in the Azores,"[1] the capture of Cadiz by the young Earl of Essex, and the Island Voyage of Essex and Raleigh to the Azores.

§ 143. **Ireland under Elizabeth, 1558–1584.**—Henry VIII. had attempted to anglicise the Irish and to extend the Reformation to Ireland, but whatever chance of success his schemes might have had was ruined by his death. The rapid changes which followed were even more unsettling to Ireland than to England, and Elizabeth had great difficulty in re-establishing the English supremacy. At the beginning of her reign, her forces were kept at bay by Shane O'Neil, a chieftain of Tyrone. After his death Ireland enjoyed a period of comparative peace. But the attempt to plant English colonists in Ulster and Munster, as Philip and Mary had done in King's and Queen's County, was the signal for fresh rebellion. The two risings under the Desmond Geraldines (1569 and 1579) were primarily directed against these plantations, which seem indeed to have been carried out with needless cruelty. But the second was also a religious revolt. It was encouraged by Pope Gregory

[1] Tennyson, *The Revenge*.

XIII.; and a Papal Legate and a few Spanish soldiers landed in Ireland to support it. The Spaniards were defeated at Smerwick (Kerry), and the last sparks of rebellion were extinguished in 1584. A final revolt broke out in 1596 under Hugh O'Neil, Earl of Tyrone, who was aided later by the Spaniards. Elizabeth sent her favourite, Essex, to suppress it, but he was unsuccessful, and was replaced by Lord Mountjoy. It took Lord Mountjoy three years to bring O'Neil to submission, and he only succeeded a few days before Elizabeth's death.

§ 144. **Elizabeth's Last Years and Death.**—In spite of foreign and religious difficulties, Elizabeth's ministers had found time for valuable social legislation. To replace the mediæval trade corporations, the *Statute of Apprentices* (1564) had made provision for a State regulation of industry and wages; and in the great Queen's last years various attempts to deal with vagrancy and poverty were summed up in the great *Poor Law* of 1601. Elizabeth's end was lonely. The death of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, five years before, had deprived her of her best friend and adviser. The death of the Earl of Leicester, her first favourite, the man whom it was thought she would have preferred to marry, and the execution of her last favourite, the Earl of Essex, for sedition after his return from Ireland, had profoundly saddened her. Her popularity was passing away, and she must have felt that her work was done. Her Parliaments, moreover, tended to show independence, a quality which she disliked in others. Her last Parliament protested so loudly against her practice of granting monopolies[1] that Elizabeth was compelled to promise the withdrawal of such as were injurious. She had all the Tudor tact, and she knew how to yield gracefully. "Never thought," she said, "was cherished in my heart that tended

[1] Or exclusive rights of making and selling articles of commerce.

not to my people's good. Though you have had, and may have, many princes more mighty and more wise, sitting in this seat, yet you never had, nor ever shall have, any that will be more careful and loving."

Chronology of Chief Events.

1558. Marriage of Dauphin and Mary, Queen of Scots.
1558–67. Rebellion of Shane O'Neil.
1559. Peace of Câteau-Cambrésis.
1559. [Second] Act of Supremacy.
1559. [Third] Act of Uniformity.
1560. Treaty of Edinburgh.
1562. Elizabeth assists the Huguenots.
1564. Statute of Apprentices.
1565. Mary Stuart marries Lord Darnley.
1566. Birth of James Stuart, future King of England.
1567. Defeat of Mary Stuart at Carberry Hill.
1568. Defeat of Mary Stuart and her flight to England.
1569. Rising of the Northern Earls.
1570. Papal Bull of excommunication and deposition.
1571. English Anti-Papal legislation.
1571. Assent to Thirty-nine Articles required from clergymen.
1571. Ridolfi Plot.
1572. Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day.
1579. Second Desmond rising.
1580. The Jesuits, Campion and Parsons, land in England.
1581. Execution of Campion.
1581. First National Covenant of Scotland.
1583. Throgmorton Plot.
1585. Elizabeth sends help to the Netherlands.
1586. Babington Plot and execution of Mary Stuart.
1587. Drake destroys part of Armada in Cadiz harbour.
1588. The Great Armada.
1591. Grenville's fight on the *Revenge*.
1596. Rebellion of Hugh O'Neil in Ireland.
1601. First General Poor Law.
1603. Conquest of Ireland by Lord Mountjoy.

BOOK V.

The Puritan Revolution, 1603–1660.

BEING

THE STUART PERIOD: PART I.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 145. **Retrospect, 1485–1603.**—In the last book we followed the course of the Reformation and the Renaissance, and we saw the English people in the hands of the strong monarchy which had been established for the purpose of restoring order at home, and of preserving the independence of the nation abroad. With the defeat of the Armada in 1588, those purposes were achieved. The need for a strong monarchy was then over, but the nation trusted Elizabeth, and Parliament was content to leave the reins of Government in her hands during her lifetime. On the Continent during the Tudor period the chief power had been in the hands of the House of Hapsburg whose representative was the Emperor Charles V. When the dominions of that House were divided between its Austrian and Spanish branches, Spain, under Philip II., took the leading position in Western Europe, but France under the House of Bourbon, the United Netherlands under the House of Orange, and England under the Tudors were all successful in their resistance to Spanish aggression.

§ 146. **Forecast. Internal Politics, 1603–1660.**—The next period covers the reigns of the first two Stuarts, the Commonwealth and the Protectorate. It was pre-eminently

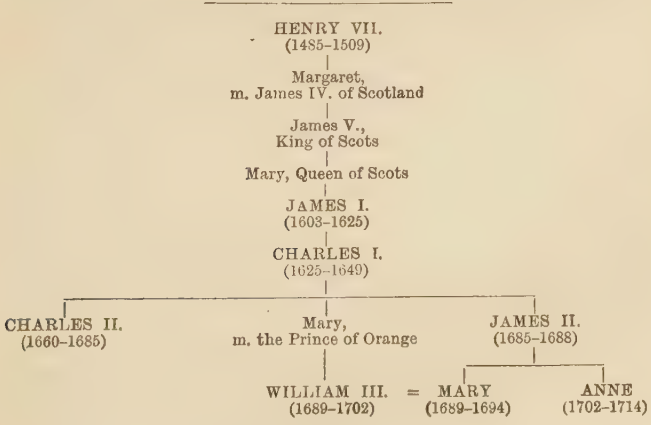
a time of struggle. Not only were Roman Catholicism and Protestantism still at war, but divisions were arising within the Protestant party itself. In secular politics, moreover, a struggle for sovereignty was at hand. The Parliament was determined to have a voice in the government, and as the Stuart kings were convinced that they had a divine right to rule absolutely, the question could only be decided by civil war. Parliament looked back to the fifteenth century for the foundations of its powers. The Stuarts based their claims on Tudor precedents. They had a very difficult problem to face. If the civil conflict could only have been avoided by the re-establishment of constitutional government, the religious difficulties could only have been solved by a wise toleration, and for this the minds of neither rulers nor subjects were prepared.

James I. complicated both the religious and the constitutional problem, and Charles I. made war inevitable by methods of government still more arbitrary than those of his father. After the victory of Parliament and the King's execution, the monarchy and the House of Lords were abolished for a time, and England became first a Commonwealth, and then a Protectorate. Under the rule of Cromwell various new devices were tried. Toleration was exercised as far as political necessities would allow; Parliament was rendered, by an extended franchise, more representative of the people; and an attempt was made to control both the individual citizen and the Legislature by a written constitution. But these attempts were one and all either premature or alien to the spirit of the people, and none survived the Restoration.

§ 147. **Foreign Politics of the Period, 1603–1660.**— In the seventeenth century France gradually assumed the leading position previously held by Spain, and Henry IV., Cardinal Richelieu, Cardinal Mazarin, and Louis XIV.

were successively the ruling spirits of Europe. Their main object was to make the French monarchy absolute, and to win power and territory for France at the expense of the House of Hapsburg. The Austrian branch of the Hapsburgs was the principal object of attack; and France, from purely political motives, foiled the attempt of the Hapsburg Emperor to crush Protestantism and to unite Germany under his rule. After the German part of the war was ended by the *Peace of Westphalia* (1648) France continued her contest with Spain until the long rivalry of the two countries was temporarily closed by the *Peace of the Pyrenees* (1659). England was too fully occupied at home to take much part in the Thirty Years' War; but she intervened in the continued struggle between France and Spain in the time of Cromwell. And in the middle of the century the old friendship between England and Holland, which had been based on religious sympathy, was broken by commercial rivalry.

Descent of the House of Stuart



CHAPTER XIII.

James I., 1603–1625.

Born 1566; married Anne of Denmark, 1589; died 1625.

CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

PAPACY.	EMPIRE.	FRANCE.	SPAIN.	TURKEY.	ELSEWHERE.
Clement VIII. (1592)	Rudolf II. (1576)	Henry IV. (1589)	Philip III. (1598)	Ahmad I. (1603-1617)	Sigismund III., *Poland* (1587–1632)
Leo XI. (1605)		(*First* Bourbon *King of France*)		*Anarchy*	Gustav Adolf, *Sweden* (1611–1632)
Paul V. (1605)	Matthias (1612)	Louis XIII. (1610)	Philip IV. (1621)	Murad IV. (1623)	Michael, *Russia* (1613–1645) (*the first Tzar of the House of Romanov*)
Gregory XV. (1621)	Ferdinand II. (1619)				
Urban VIII. (1623)					

§ 148. **Title and Position of James I.**—Elizabeth was succeeded by James Stuart, King of Scotland. He was descended from Margaret Tudor, the elder daughter of Henry VII., and was, by inheritance, the undoubted heir to the English throne. But Henry VIII. had willed that the descendants of his younger sister Mary and Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, should succeed his children. Few, however, were likely to uphold his will against the obvious advantage of uniting England and Scotland under one Crown. James I. had therefore no serious rivals to fear. And, though the conspirators who took part in the *Main Plot* of 1603 against his minister

Cecil, had some idea of placing his cousin, the Lady Arabella Stuart, on the throne, the King did not think it necessary to imprison her until her claim was strengthened by her secret marriage with Sir William Seymour, the representative of the rival house of Suffolk, in 1610.[1] Though James' position was fairly secure, it was not without its perils. England, Scotland, and Ireland united, indeed, in acknowledging his rule, but their ecclesiastical, legal, and parliamentary systems were still entirely distinct. There were also religious and financial difficulties to solve; and, finally, James, by character and by education, was peculiarly unfitted for the task which lay before him.

§ 149. **Character of James I.**—The new King had great ability, but he lacked many of the qualities which make a good ruler and a popular Sovereign. Though not without courage, he was constitutionally timid, and his reluctance to face dangers made his policy hesitating and weak. After 1612, he allowed himself to be ruled by unworthy favourites, and his waste of public money exasperated his Parliaments. His manner, though pedantic, was rough and unpolished, and his views were as unlikely to please his new subjects as his character or his deportment. At the moment when the English Parliament was preparing to resume the powers which it had relinquished at the close of the fifteenth century, the English King's sole idea of a good government was the despotism of the Tudors.

There was, however, much to be said for his views. The idea of the Divine Right of Kings, in which he believed, had been developed by the necessity of forging a weapon of defence against the claims of the Jesuits and the Presbyterians. As those who resisted the King on religious

[1] She died after five years' imprisonment.

grounds had argued that the Divine will was superior to that of any earthly monarch, the supporters of the monarchy maintained that the kingship was a Divine institution, and that implicit obedience in matters spiritual, as well as temporal, was therefore the duty of all subjects. In the eyes of James, moreover, the monarch was a divinely appointed peacemaker between conflicting religious and political parties, both at home and abroad.

§ 150. **Puritans and Catholics.**—Though the moderation of Elizabeth's ecclesiastical settlement appealed to many of her subjects, the Roman Catholics and Puritans felt it to be against their consciences to conform to her Church system, and both parties hoped much from the new King. The Roman Catholics remembered that his mother had died in their cause, and James, before his accession, had encouraged them to expect greater toleration. The Puritan hopes, on the other hand, were based on the King's known education in *Calvinism*. But James had no love for Puritans. He, like Elizabeth, was quick to detect the republicanism which was associated with the doctrines of the Presbyterians.[1] He was convinced, as he said at a later date, that no bishop meant "no King." On his way to England he was met by some Puritan ministers, who laid their views before him in the form of the *Millenary Petition*. They asked that the existing services should be so modified that they could take part in them without offending their consciences. James called a Conference at Hampton Court to consider their requests. Unfortunately, in the course of the discussion, some chance remark about Presbyterianism excited the King's anger, and the Conference was brought to a summary conclusion. In the following year the Puritan clergy who refused to conform, were expelled from their livings. Almost the

[1] He saw no distinction between Puritanism and Presbyterianism.

only result of the Conference was the Authorised Translation of the Bible, which appeared in 1611.

The Roman Catholics fared no better than the Puritans. After some hesitation James put the penal laws against them into force once more, and, in 1603, punished with severity a plot (called the *Bye Plot* in contra-distinction to the *Main Plot*), for forcing him to give them a measure of toleration. The *Gunpowder Plot* of 1605 was more serious. The conspirators proposed to blow up the Houses of Parliament at the moment when the King and Prince of Wales were present for the opening of the session; but the plot was betrayed to one of the peers by an anonymous letter. On November 5th, Guy Fawkes, one of the most active among the plotters, was arrested in the cellars beneath the Houses of Parliament, and, with most of the leaders, was put to death. As a consequence of this conspiracy, Parliament passed a more severe *recusancy* law.

§ 151. **James and Parliament.**—The history of James' relations with his Parliaments is one of almost continual conflict. Crown and Parliament differed over religion, over the question of a closer union between England and Scotland, and over finance. The Commons favoured the Puritan demands, they were averse to a complete union with Scotland, and they refused to grant the King liberal supplies of money. Having made James the customary life-grant of *Tonnage and Poundage*, they required him to "live of his own." But this was hardly possible. James accordingly tried to eke out his income by raising custom duties without the consent of Parliament. As early as 1362, Parliament had denied the right of the Crown to the control of indirect taxation (cp. p. 109). But in 1606, on the occasion of the trial of a man named Bate, who had refused to pay a tax on currants, the

judges declared the new "impositions," as they were called, to be legal.

The King and Parliament next tried to come to an agreement by means of a bargain known as the *Great Contract*. It was proposed that the King should exchange his feudal dues for a fixed parliamentary grant. After prolonged and fruitless negotiations, Parliament was dissolved. In 1614 poverty compelled the King to summon a second Parliament. Some of his courtiers undertook to manage it for him (hence their name of *undertakers*); but they failed to make it sufficiently compliant. The King and Commons once more came to a deadlock over finance, and James dissolved Parliament after a sitting of only nine weeks. It had passed not a single measure, and because of its unproductiveness, it received the name of the *Addled Parliament*.

By a Benevolence, by the new impositions raised since the judges' decision in Bate's Case, by selling the title of baronet, and by the reforms of his treasurer Cranfield, who after 1618 introduced some measure of economy into the royal expenditure, James was enabled to tide over six and a half years without a Parliament. In 1621, however, the wish to help his son-in-law, the Elector Palatine, in his war against the Hapsburgs, compelled him to summon a third. It revived an ancient but long disused practice when it *impeached* Sir Giles Mompesson for the abuse of a monopoly, and the Lord Chancellor Bacon for accepting gifts from suitors in his court; and it was even more liberal with advice about the conduct of the war than with money. When James objected to their interference with Foreign Policy, the Commons firmly protested their right to debate all matters of public concern. James thereupon dissolved Parliament; but two or three years later the need of a further war-grant obliged

him to call another. It made him a liberal grant, impeached Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, for malpractices as Treasurer, and passed an Act declaring monopolies illegal (1624). It was James' last Parliament, and the first with which he did not quarrel.

§ 152. **Foreign Policy of James.**—While Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, was chief minister, James' foreign policy was, on the whole, a continuation of Elizabeth's. Cecil inclined to friendship with France rather than with Spain, but above all he desired peace. The Anglo-Spanish war was accordingly ended by the Treaty of London in 1604. This policy accorded well with the King's ambition to be a peace-maker. Salisbury died in 1612, having just arranged a marriage, which took place in the following year, between James' daughter Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine, the ruler of one of the principal Protestant States in Europe. After Cecil's death James departed from the anti-Spanish attitude of Elizabeth, and began to think of marrying his second son Charles (now his heir, the popular Prince Henry having died in 1612) to the Infanta of Spain. He was attracted by her dowry, and by the idea that, by an alliance with a Catholic as well as with a Protestant power, he could help to maintain the peace of Europe. For many years, therefore, the Spanish Ambassador, Gondomar, controlled the Government of England by holding out hopes of the much-desired marriage.

It was to Spain that Sir Walter Raleigh was sacrificed. Raleigh had been found guilty of complicity in the *Main Plot* of 1603. Though condemned to death, his sentence had not been carried out, and he had remained a prisoner in the Tower. In 1616, however, he obtained permission to make an expedition to Guiana, with the object of exploiting a gold mine. He disregarded his

orders not to come into conflict with the Spaniards. Had he been successful he might have been pardoned, but he returned empty-handed. Gondomar pressed for his execution, and the King, fearing that Raleigh would betray his own close friendship with Spain to the nation, denied him a public trial, and had him put to death under his old sentence.

In 1618 the Elector Palatine, by accepting the semi-elective Crown of Bohemia, aroused the opposition of the previous holders, the Hapsburgs, and became involved in the struggle known as the Thirty Years' War. The English looked on the struggle as one between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, and were eager to help the Protestant Elector; but James condemned his son-in-law's action as aggressive, and as a violation of the hereditary right of kings. He declined to help the Elector in Bohemia, whence he was expelled in 1620; but he sent some assistance, though not enough, to aid him in his hereditary dominions. In the meantime he hoped to induce the Spanish Hapsburgs to join him in putting an end to the war in Germany. In 1622, however, his son-in-law was driven from the Palatinate—largely by means of Spanish troops in the service of the Hapsburg Emperor. But James still hoped to secure his restoration by the aid of Spain. In the following year, Prince Charles, accompanied by James' favourite, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, who now greatly influenced both father and son, went in person to Madrid to hasten the long-delayed marriage. As a condition of the match, Spain demanded the complete toleration of Roman Catholics in England, offering nothing in return. Charles was prepared to agree, but the nation was hostile, and further difficulties led to a war with Spain. Count Mansfeld was sent on a

fruitless expedition up the Rhine, and James and Charles made a marriage contract with France on terms which, had Parliament been sitting, would have called forth a storm of indignation.

§ 153. **Death of the King, and an Estimate of his Work.**—In 1625 James died. During his reign Englishmen permanently settled in the Bermudas and the West Indies, while Puritans, driven out of England by James' want of toleration, founded colonies in North America. Moreover, the East India Company, founded in 1600, developed a trade with India which ultimately led to political dominion. The reign had thus considerable colonial as well as domestic importance.

But England owed little to the policy of the King himself. The main result of his personal rule had been to increase the difficulties which faced him at his accession; and his corrupt court and favouritism had discredited him with the nation. The moral feelings of his subjects were outraged when they saw James conniving at the divorce of the notorious Countess of Essex, and at her marriage with his first favourite, Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset; still more when the Earl and Countess of Somerset were accused, the lady certainly not without justice, of the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, who had opposed their marriage. And the national pride was wounded when James allowed himself and the country to be ruled by the handsome but incompetent Buckingham. James possessed much of the ability of the Tudors; but he had, unfortunately, neither their tact nor their insight into practical affairs. His schemes were frequently wise, but, blinded by his own self-reliance, he was incapable of seeing where his policy was unacceptable, or of profiting by the lessons of his life; and despite his

cleverness and his learning, he never attained any measure of true wisdom. His portrait in the National Portrait Gallery depicts him as a limited but self-confident pedant. His character was still more accurately painted in words by a contemporary, who called him "the wisest fool in Christendom."[1]

Chronology of Chief Events.

1603. Main and Bye Plots.
1604. Hampton Court Conference.
1604. Treaty of London.
1605. Gunpowder Plot.
1606. Recusancy Act.
1606. Bate's Case.
1607. English settle in North America.
1607. Second foundation of State of Virginia.
1609. English settle in Bermuda.
1610. Great Contract.
1610. Marriage of Arabella Stuart.
1611. Authorised Version of the Bible.
1612. Death of Salisbury.
1612. Death of Prince Henry.
1613. Marriage of Elizabeth Stuart to Elector Palatine.
1617. Expedition of Raleigh to Guiana.
1618. Execution of Raleigh.
1620. *Mayflower* sails with "Pilgrim Fathers" to North America (New England founded).
1620. Elector Palatine driven out of Bohemia.
1621. Impeachment of Mompesson and Bacon.
1622. Elector Palatine expelled from Palatinate.
1623. Visit to Madrid.
1624. Declaratory Act against Monopolies.
1624. Impeachment of Cranfield.
1624. War with Spain.
1624. Marriage Treaty with France.
1625. Count Mansfeld's Expedition up the Rhine.

[1] Henry IV. of France.

CHAPTER XIV.

Charles I., 1625–1649.

Born 1600; married Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII. of France, 1625; executed 1649.

CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

PAPACY.	EMPIRE.	FRANCE.	SPAIN.	TURKEY.	ELSEWHERE.
Urban VIII. (1623)	Ferdinand II. (1619)	Louis XIII. (1610)	Philip IV. (1621–1665)	Murad IV. (1623)	Christian IV., *Denmark* and *Norway* (1588–1648)
				Ibrahim (1640)	
Innocent X. (1644)	Ferdinand III. (1637–1658)	Louis XIV. (1643–1715)		Muhammad IV. (1648)	Gustav Adolf, *Sweden* (1611–1632)

§ 154. **Threatening Aspect of Affairs, 1625.**—James I.'s opposition to the claims of Parliament had produced nothing but irritation. His treatment of the Puritans, who before his time had been united only in their dislike of ceremonies, had caused all the sects to combine against the Bishops and the Crown. The corruption of Court had given a moral force to the opposition of the Puritans, which the lax morals of the clergy of the Church of England, and their indifference to the needs of their flocks intensified. A war with Spain was added to the difficulties which met Charles on his accession, and his domestic, as well as his foreign, policy was complicated by the marriage alliance with France. Though he had assured the English Parliament that he would allow no relaxation of the recusancy laws, he had shortly afterwards

promised the French King that he would secure toleration for the Roman Catholics. He had also engaged to supply the French with ships, in spite of the danger of their being used to suppress the Huguenots. The new King was, moreover, under the influence of Buckingham, who was exceedingly unpopular, and whose rash management of the Palatinate war, and still rasher schemes for the prosecution of the struggle with Spain fully justified the distrust which the nation felt for him.

The character of Charles was even more ominous of trouble to come than the circumstances which attended his accession. Though in many respects upright, he was incurably obstinate and prejudiced. He had as high an idea of the Divine Right of Kings as his father, and his temper was even less pliant. But the most fatal of all his faults was his untrustworthiness. He could always persuade himself that circumstances justified him in breaking his promises, and at times he did not even shrink from deliberate deception.

§ 150. **Early Period of Parliamentary Government and Foreign War, 1625-29.**—Charles began his reign by marrying Henrietta Maria of France, and by summoning a Parliament to make him a grant of money for his war with Spain. But the King withheld from the House all knowledge of his plan of campaign, and Parliament, knowing the management of the war to be in Buckingham's hands, would make no grant in ignorance. To keep the King dependent on itself for supplies, it proposed to give him Tonnage and Poundage for one year only, instead of making him the usual life-grant. Charles accordingly dissolved Parliament, and raised the customs without its consent by Prerogative.[1] Sir Edward Cecil was thus enabled to make an attack on Cadiz, but the expedition

[1] The power which the Stuarts claimed to dispense with the laws.

was a failure. Charles' resources were not, indeed, large enough to justify him in carrying on the war with Spain in Germany and on the sea at once. He therefore summoned a second Parliament, excluding from it the most prominent of his former opponents, by appointing them sheriffs.[1] The new Parliament was, nevertheless, independent enough to impeach Buckingham, and was accordingly dissolved. In the meantime, the King's relations with Foreign Powers were growing more complicated. He failed to fulfil the promises he had made to the King of France in his marriage contract, and when the Huguenots rebelled, he sent them aid. The result was war with France as well as with Spain, and a more urgent need of money than before.

§ 156. **Arbitrary Taxation, Arbitrary Imprisonment, and the Petition of Right, 1627-28.** To raise money Charles collected forced "loans," and ordered the maritime towns to furnish ships for the relief of La Rochelle, the Huguenot stronghold, which was being besieged by the King of France. In the summer of 1627, Buckingham, as Lord High Admiral, made an ineffectual attempt to relieve it by occupying the Island of Rhé. A second expedition was immediately contemplated. In the meantime, the King had found some difficulty in persuading the nation to "lend" to him. Besides taxing them, he pressed his unwilling subjects into service in the navy or the army, or "billeted" troops upon them. Those who rebelled were subjected to martial law or thrown into prison. A group of five knights thus imprisoned sued out writs of *habeas corpus*—that is to say, each obtained from the Court of the King's Bench an order that his jailer should "produce his body" before the Court, that the legality of his detention might be

[1] Sheriffs were disqualified from seats in the House.

examined. The judges decided in these test cases—known as the *Five Knights' Case*, or *Darnel's Case*—that "the King's special command" was sufficient to justify both arrest and detention without a trial.

Charles had already cowed the judges by dismissing one who had declared his loans to be illegal, and it was now evident that the law would be no protection against the King. Charles' third Parliament, therefore, led by Sir John Eliot, Sir Edward Coke, Sir Thomas Wentworth, and John Pym, drew up a notable Constitutional Document, known as the *Petition of Right*. The levying of loans or taxes without the consent of Parliament, the imprisonment of freemen "without cause shown," the billeting of soldiers and mariners in private houses, and the execution of martial law "within the land" in times of peace were the chief practices in the condemnation of which the King was asked to concur. After some hesitation, and after privately obtaining from the judges an opinion that his hands would be no more bound than before, Charles gave his assent to the Petition, and was rewarded by a liberal grant of money.

The assassination of Buckingham, while superintending the preparations for another expedition to Rhé, removed one of the sources of quarrel between King and Parliament. But Charles soon broke his promise, and began to levy Tonnage and Poundage on his own authority, and to imprison those who would not pay. The House of Commons entered a vehement protest, and Parliament was dissolved. Charles imprisoned the leaders of the riot, Eliot, Valentine, and Strode, and the judges upheld his action. Then, for eleven years, Charles ruled without a Parliament, and to avoid the necessity of raising money, made peace with France by the *Treaty of Susa* (1629) and with Spain by the *Treaty of Madrid* (1630).

§ 157. **Eleven Years of Personal Government. Finance.**—The King's methods of procuring a revenue were sometimes strictly legal, but always unconstitutional in spirit and irritating to the nation. He revived obsolete semi-feudal penalties, such as fines levied upon those who neglected to become knights,[1] and upon those who encroached upon the royal forests. He granted monopolies to companies on the ground that the Monopoly Act of 1624 had only forbidden him to confer them on individuals; and he exacted Tonnage and Poundage without consent of Parliament. The King was entitled in times of danger to call upon each of the maritime towns to supply him with a ship for the defence of the country. Charles attempted to turn this occasional claim into a means of regular revenue, first by asking for money instead of ships, and then by demanding "ship"-money from inland towns. In 1637 a Puritan gentleman, named John Hampden, was tried for refusing to pay ship-money, and the judges concerned in the case gave a verdict in favour of the King.

§ 158. **Religious Policy of the Crown.**—In the meantime, Charles and Laud, Bishop of London, by enforcing a stately ceremonial in the Church of England, and by supporting Arminian views,[2] had excited a vehement dislike of their ecclesiastical policy. They attempted to suppress the opposition of the Clergy by means of the Court of High Commission.[3] The result was that moderate Protestants, who could see little, if any, distinction between Laud's views and "Popery," were becoming daily more and more puritan. In 1633, Laud's appointment to

1 Distraint of Knighthood.

2 A form of Protestantism without Calvin's Predestination.

3 A court founded by the Tudors, and endowed with religious powers similar to the secular powers wielded by the Star-Chamber. It was an equally ready instrument of arbitrary government.

the Archbishopric of Canterbury intensified their discontent. In 1634, the punishment of Prynne for an attack on stage plays had attracted little attention; but in 1637, the mutilation and imprisonment of Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton for libelling the bishops, produced, as a direct consequence of Laud's unwise procedure, a great public demonstration of sympathy for his victims. The ecclesiastical policy of the Crown had been driving Puritans out of England since the time of James I. In 1629, the Colony of Massachusetts, which absorbed the Plymouth Colony, was started, and at a later date Laud's more drastic discipline brought with it an increase of emigration. The period of Personal Government saw the beginnings in North America of the Colonies of Rhode Island and of Maryland. The latter was a refuge for Roman Catholics, and the first English colony to practise religious toleration.

§ 159. **Strafford in Ireland, 1633–1640.**—The most able supporter of the arbitrary policy of Charles and Laud was Viscount Wentworth (subsequently Earl of Strafford). His earlier opposition to the Crown had been prompted by dislike and distrust of Buckingham. After Buckingham's death, and when it became clear to him that the quarrel between the King and Parliament had definitely developed into a contest for the sovereign power, he became an ardent supporter of the Royal Prerogative. Charles made him Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. His period of rule there was marked by increased prosperity, improved trade, and an augmented revenue. He also raised a small standing army, which he was afterwards said to have recommended the King to use against his rebellious subjects at home.

§ 160. **Scotland: Policy of Charles, 1637–40.**—James I. had made a partial restoration of Episcopacy in Scotland. Though this was as much as the Scots would bear, Charles not only completed his father's work, but also ordered

the Scottish Churches to use a Prayer-book, which had been modelled by Laud on the one in use in England. A second *National Covenant* against "Popery" was drawn up in 1638, and the King's measures roused such a storm of indignation that Charles actually withdrew the Prayer-book. A few months later the General Assembly of the Scottish Kirk abolished Episcopacy and restored Presbyterianism.

Charles refused to accept the change, and both sides prepared for war. The Scots army being superior in discipline to any that Charles could raise, the King by the *Pacification of Berwick* (1639) agreed to refer disputed questions to the Scottish Assembly and Estates for Settlement. But the demands which the Scots made were so great that Charles, yielding to the advice of Laud and Strafford in the hope of obtaining supplies for the Scotch war, summoned an English Parliament (1640). Finding that it would make no grant without concessions, he dissolved it in three weeks. By contrast with the Parliament which followed, it won the name of the "Short Parliament." A few months later, the Scots invaded northern England, and as he could do nothing the King was compelled to summon the famous Long Parliament of the Great Rebellion.

§ 161. **Beginnings of the Long Parliament, 1640–1641** —The new Parliament paid the Scottish army to remain in England until its work of reform should be complete, and at once committed Strafford and Laud to prison. Strafford was impeached by the Commons on a charge of high treason. The chief accusation against him was his alleged advice to Charles to use the Irish army against "this kingdom." But since treason, as defined by law, meant disloyalty to the person of the King, whereas Strafford's offence was hostility to the people, it soon

became clear that the Lords would not convict. The Commons accordingly dropped the impeachment, and condemned Strafford to death by a Bill of Attainder. Charles unwillingly gave his assent to the Bill, and Strafford was executed (1641).

Two days before his death, the Long Parliament had forced Charles to agree to a Bill which enacted that it could not be legally dissolved without its own consent. It had already passed a *Triennial Act*, providing that the interval between two Parliaments should not exceed three years. It next abolished the special powers with which the Tudor monarchy had been entrusted for the purpose of restoring order after the Wars of the Roses. It put an end to the Courts of the Star Chamber and High Commission, and it declared the powers of arbitrary imprisonment and summary jurisdiction hitherto exercised by the Privy Council to be illegal. It also pronounced the various financial expedients of the King—amongst others Distraint of Knighthood and Ship-money—to be illegal, and condemned the levying of customs by Prerogative. Parliament then gave Charles liberal supplies, paid off the Scots, and disbanded the English army. When, shortly afterwards, the native Irish of Ulster, encouraged by the removal of Strafford's iron hand, rose in a rebellion which developed into an extensive massacre of the Protestant settlers, it became necessary to raise fresh troops to suppress the disorder. But Parliament hesitated to trust Charles with an army.

§ 162. **The Grand Remonstrance and the Five Members, 1641–1642.**—At this moment the Commons were weakened by division. The introduction of the *Root and Branch Bill* for the abolition of Episcopacy split them into two parties, and the more conservative members of the House went over to the side of Charles. There-

upon Pym, Hampden, and other leaders of the Opposition hoped to put new life into their party, and to discredit the King by a hostile review of his public acts. They drew up, and the Commons approved, the *Grand Remonstrance*, a document which contained a detailed account of the events of the reign, a condemnation of the policy of the King as unconstitutional, and a demand for remedies, especially the appointment of "ministers in whom the Parliament could confide." The Remonstrance being carried by a very small majority only, Charles was encouraged to make a counter-attack on the leaders of the Opposition. He charged Lord Kimbolton[1] and five members of the Commons—Pym, Hampden, Hazelrig, Holles, and Strode—with treason for their dealings with the Scottish rebels, and went to the House with an armed force to effect their arrest in person. He found that "the birds were flown," and that the Commons would not help him to capture them.

Through this premature attack the King lost all the ground which he had recently won in the general good-will. A few days later he left London, not to return until he was brought back a prisoner. Events now moved with rapidity. Charles having refused his consent to the *Militia Bill*, the object of which was to deprive him of the control of the army that was being raised for service in Ireland, the two Houses took matters into their own hands, and ascribed the force of law to their Bills under the name of Ordinances. They acquired control of the militia, and secured the fleet. In April (1642) Sir John Hotham, by command of Parliament, declined to admit the King into his arsenal at Hull. In June, Charles refused his consent to the Parliamentary ultimatum known as the *Nineteen Propositions*, which

[1] Edward Montague, afterwards Lord Manchester.

was designed to obtain for Parliament an effective control over all branches of the administration. In July, Parliament appointed the Earl of Essex[1] to be captain of its forces; and in August the King gave the signal for civil war by setting up his standard at Nottingham.

§ 163. **Nature and Divisions of the War.**—There was no hard and fast geographical division between the parties in the war. On the whole, the backward part of England, the North and West, supported the King, and the progressive part, the South and East, supported Parliament; but there were many exceptions. Shire was sometimes divided against shire, borough against borough, and even house against house. Similarly there was no definite division of classes. Roughly speaking, the nobility and gentry were on the side of the King, the townsmen and yeomen on the side of Parliament. But the Puritan party drew some of its staunchest adherents and its finest leaders from the ranks of the nobility and gentry, and many townsmen and freeholders loyally supported the King. Nor was the separation into political parties absolute. The loyalty of some men was stronger than their political principles, and many "half-measures" men were to be found in the Puritan as well as in the Royalist ranks. The most definite dividing line was, however, drawn by religion To Puritanism the Parliamentarians owed their chief bond of unity, their noblest defenders, and all their zeal.

§ 164. **The First and Second Campaigns, 1642–1643.**—At the opening of the war, the balance of military advantage appeared to be on the side of the King. But both armies, owing to the prolonged internal peace which England had enjoyed, were in need of training and experience. The officers who distinguished themselves

[1] Son of Elizabeth's favourite.

on either side, with the exception of the Royalist Montrose and the Puritan Cromwell, had seen service abroad as volunteers in the Thirty Years' War. The main object of the King's strategy was to obtain possession of London. The aim of the Parliament was to strengthen their hold on the South-East, and then to subdue one by one the districts held by the King. Charles began by marching on London, but was delayed by the indecisive battle of Edgehill (1642), and finally checked by the London trained bands at Brentford. He retreated for the winter to Oxford. Civil War had already produced a desire for peace, which showed itself in the milder terms which were offered to the King by the *Treaty of Oxford* at the beginning of the following year. No agreement was, however, attained. The Parliamentarians now replaced their ill-organised *county* levies by better organised *provincial* armies. The chief of these was that of the Eastern Association under Manchester and Oliver Cromwell. Early in 1643, the forces of the Eastern Association obtained a firm hold on Lincolnshire. Elsewhere the Parliamentarians at first fared badly. Their attacks on Oxford were fruitless, and cost the life of Hampden in a skirmish with Prince Rupert's troops at Chalgrove.

In June 1643, the Earl of Newcastle secured nearly the whole of Yorkshire for the Royalists by defeating the Fairfaxes at Adwalton Moor, near Bradford, and a series of Royalist successes, beginning with Hopton's victory at Stratton in Cornwall, and crowned by Rupert's capture of Bristol, secured the South-West. The way seemed open for a combined march of the three principal Royalist armies on London. But the advance was deferred until the fortified towns of Hull, Gloucester and Plymouth should fall; and delay proved fatal to the Royalist hopes. Plymouth was relieved from the sea; Hull was relieved

by Cromwell; and Gloucester was relieved at the last moment by Essex, who secured his retreat on London, after a fight with the King at Newbury, in Berkshire.

§ 165. **Scotland and Ireland, 1643.**—Both sides had begun to feel the need of allies. Since foreign Powers were too much absorbed by the Thirty Years' War to interfere, the King turned to Ireland for aid, and the Parliament to Scotland. The Irish rising of 1641 was still unsubdued, and the massacre of the settlers still unavenged. The English troops were, moreover, shut up in a few towns. To set these last free for service in England the King made a truce, called the *Cessation*, with the Irish insurgents for one year. He was thus enabled to increase the numerical strength of his army. Parliament was also compelled to make religious concessions to secure assistance. By the *Solemn League and Covenant* it formed an alliance with the Scots on condition that, while the Scottish Church was to be "preserved," the English Church should be "reformed."

§ 166. **Fourth and Fifth Campaigns, and the Battle of Marston Moor, 1644–1645.**—The opening of the year 1644 saw the landing of the Royalist troops from Ireland, and the arrival of the Scottish troops, under Alexander Leslie, Earl of Leven. The Irish troops availed the King nothing. They were immediately crushed by the Fairfaxes at Nantwich. The Scottish aid, on the other hand, turned the balance of the war in favour of the Parliament. The Scots attacked the King's forces in the North from the rear, and combined with the army of the Eastern Association, under Manchester and Cromwell, and with Fairfax's troops, to shut up the Marquis of Newcastle in York. Prince Rupert raised the siege, and then marching out joined battle with the Parliamentarian troops at Marston Moor, a few miles west of the city. Cromwell's cavalry put Rupert's to flight, and returned in time to save the

right wing of the Parliamentarian army under Fairfax from defeat. The victory of Marston Moor gave the whole of the North into the hands of the Anglo-Scottish host. Rupert dubbed Cromwell "Ironside," and henceforth his troops became known as "invincible Ironsides." They owed their success in part to the military talent of their commander, in part to the strict discipline which he enforced, but most of all to their religious zeal. Cromwell insisted that his soldiers should be God-fearing men.

In the meantime the King had been acting on the defensive in the South, awaiting an opportunity of dealing with the two Parliamentarian commanders, Waller and Essex, separately. Their agreement was known to be imperfect, but, after Waller had defeated Hopton, at Cheriton in Hampshire, they had joined forces for the siege of Oxford. As expected, however, they soon parted in anger. Charles defeated Waller at Cropredy Bridge near Banbury, and then following Essex south captured his entire force at Lostwithiel in Cornwall. He then made a dash for London, but was stopped by the army of the Eastern Association at Newbury. In Scotland the royal cause was gaining ground. The alliance of the Marquis of Argyll, the chief of the powerful clan of Campbell and the head of the Presbyterian Scots of the Lowlands, with the Parliament, had induced the many Highland clans who hated the Campbells to take up arms for the King. They found an able leader in James Graham, Marquis of Montrose. He won a series of victories which for the moment seemed likely to turn the scale in favour of Charles. The series began with the battle of Tippermuir, near Perth (1644), and ended with the battle of Kilsyth, near Glasgow, in 1645.

§ 167. **The New Model Army, and the Close of the**

First Civil War, 1645–1646.—The Parliament offered hard terms to the King in the *Treaty of Uxbridge* (1645). They asked him to take the Covenant, to agree to the abolition of Episcopacy, and to entrust the business of the country to a joint committee for twenty years. But Charles, encouraged by the successes of Montrose, refused. His adherence to Episcopacy had been strengthened by the condemnation of his friend Archbishop Laud by Bill of Attainder, and by his execution in the beginning of the year. His hopes were, moreover, revived by signs of religious difference among his opponents. A small but growing party among the Puritans had begun to think Presbyterianism as objectionable as Episcopacy. These "Independents" were eager to obtain peace by an energetic prosecution of the war, and to secure it by granting a large measure of religious toleration. Cromwell, their chief leader, accused the principal generals, Essex, Manchester and Waller—who belonged to the Presbyterian party—of trifling with the war in the interests of the King, and he asked for a complete re-organisation of the forces of Parliament.

As a result, two Ordinances were passed: the first replaced the fluctuating local levies by the "new model" standing army; the second, called the *Self-denying Ordinance*, deprived members of either House of military commands. Sir Thomas, later Lord Fairfax, became Lord General, and Cromwell was placed over the cavalry. He was one of the few deprived officers who were re-appointed. The New Model Army decided the results of the fourth campaign. It intercepted Charles, whose movements had not been sufficiently prompt, on his way to join Montrose, and defeated him at Naseby, near Market Harborough. Three months later Montrose himself was defeated at Philiphaugh in Selkirk by a detachment of Leven's troops. These two battles destroyed the military power of the King. At the

same time the capture of his papers discredited him politically. He had been forming plans to obtain the help of the Irish insurgents, and he had meditated calling in French aid. Though his negotiations with the Irish had not secured him any real aid from Ireland, they injured his cause as much as if they had. In the fifth campaign (1646), Hopton's surrender to Fairfax at Truro, and Sir Jacob Astley's defeat at Stow-on-the-Wold, left Charles without an army in the field. In May he took refuge in the Scottish camp at Newark. Though Harlech Castle held out until the following year, the flight of the King from Oxford to Newark may be regarded as the end of the first Civil War.

§ 168. **Quarrel between Parliament and Army, and Second Civil War, 1647–1648.**—During the war the religious question had grown more complicated. The Long Parliament had formally abolished Episcopacy in 1642, and had entrusted the further reformation of the Church to a body which was known as the Westminster Assembly of Divines. The Assembly planned a system of Presbyterian government for the Church, but before it could accomplish its work Presbyterianism lost its political power. Early in 1647 the Scots returned to their own country, leaving the King in the hands of the English Parliament. The dominant party in Parliament proposed to restore Charles to authority in return for his assent to the establishment of Presbyterianism. To make the negotiations easier and safer, it first attempted to reduce the Army and to cut off five-sixths of its arrears of pay. The Army objected, and under the guidance of Fairfax and Ireton, who were ultimately joined by Cromwell, formed itself into an organised body, seized the King at Holmby House near Naseby, marched on London and ejected eleven of the Presbyterian leaders from the House of Commons.

The Army then put forth a document called the *Heads of the Proposals*, containing the conditions on which they were willing to restore the King. The most notable suggestions were those for granting toleration to all religious parties except Roman Catholics, and those for reforming Parliament by extending the franchise and making it more representative of the people. The proposals were rejected by the King, who still hoped to regain his power without conditions. He escaped from Hampton Court to the Isle of Wight, and at Carisbrooke Castle continued his intrigues with the English Presbyterians, the Scots, and the Royalists of all three countries. In December, 1647, the King made a secret engagement with the Scots, by which he promised to give a three years' trial to Presbyterianism and to repress the Independents. They undertook in return to restore him to the monarchical power as defined in 1641.

The intrigues of the King produced a second Civil War in 1648. Many who had previously taken part against Charles now passed over to his side. The fleet in the Downs, hitherto Parliamentarian, hoisted the royal standard, and London was only kept down by main force. The royalists rose in various parts of South Britain, and a Scottish army crossed the border to their assistance. Fairfax crushed the southern risings by storming Maidstone and by forcing Colchester to surrender. Cromwell took Pembroke, and then pushing northwards defeated the Scots in a three days' battle extending from Preston to Warrington. Marching into Scotland he then helped Argyll's party to recover its power.

§ 169. **Trial and Execution of the King, 1649.**—The double-dealing of Charles—which was due to his belief that Monarchy and Episcopacy were sacred institutions in whose defence anything was lawful—was the direct cause of the second Civil War. The Army vowed vengeance against

"Charles Stuart, that man of blood," and Cromwell slowly convinced himself that the King must be called to account. When, therefore, Parliament re-opened negotiations with Charles in the *Treaty of Newport* (1648), the Council of Officers presented the *Remonstrance of the Army*, demanding the dissolution of Parliament, and the punishment of the "capital and grand author" of all the troubles of the country. As their remonstrance was unheeded, they again seized the King, and, in December, 1648, Colonel Pride purged Parliament by weeding out one hundred and fifty-three Presbyterian members. This left only about fifty members, who, as being the sitting part of Parliament, were nicknamed "the Rump." They promptly voted that Charles should be brought to trial, and when the Lords refused to consent, declared that as the people alone were the source of lawful power, the assent of the Lords was unnecessary. Charles was arraigned before a specially created High Court of Justice, and at the end of a seven days' trial was condemned to death. He was executed (Jan. 30, 1649) outside his Palace of Whitehall.

It was to his own faults of character, to his narrow obstinacy, and above all to his untrustworthiness and duplicity, that he owed his death. But there was, nevertheless, much that was good in him. His private life was spotless, he had a sincere belief in the justice of his cause, and his brave and dignified bearing during his last troubles attracted almost universal admiration.

Chronology of Chief Events.

1625. Marriage of Charles.
1625. First Parliament.
1626. Second Parliament.
1626. Impeachment of Buckingham.
1627. Forced Loans.
1627. Five Knights' Case.
1627. War with France.
1627. Buckingham's Expedition to Rhé.
1628. Third Parliament.
1628. Petition of Right.
1628. Assassination of Buckingham.
1628. Second Expedition to Rhé.

1629. Colony of Massachusetts started.
1629. Treaty of Susa. Peace with France.
1630. Treaty of Madrid. Peace with Spain.
1633. Colony of Maryland founded.
1633. Laud Archbishop of Canterbury.
1633–40. Wentworth in Ireland.
1634. Ship-money.
1635. Ship-money extended to inland counties.
1637–8. Hampden's Case.
1637. Prynne, Burton, Bastwick.
1637. Prayer-book introduced in Scotland.
1638. Second National Covenant against Popery.
1638. Presbyterianism in Scotland.
1639. First Bishops' War.
1639. Pacification of Berwick.
1640. Short Parliament.
1640. Second Bishops' War.
1640. Treaty of Ripon.
1640. Long Parliament.
1641. Triennial Bill.
1641. Trial of Strafford.
1641. Abolition of Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission.
1641. Ulster Insurrection.
1641. Royal Journey to Scotland.
1641. Grand Remonstrance.
1642. Attempt to arrest Five Members.
1642. Militia Bill.
1642. Nineteen Propositions.
1643–7. Westminster Assembly.
1643. Treaty of Oxford.
1643. Formation of Eastern Association.
1643. Scottish League and Covenant.
1645. Glamorgan Treaty.
1645. Treaty of Uxbridge.
1645. Execution of Laud.
1645. Self-denying Ordinance.
1645. New Model Army.
1647. Quarrel between Parliament and Army.
1647. Heads of the Proposals.
1648. Second Civil War.
1648. Treaty of Newport.
1649. Trial and Execution of Charles.

Battles of the Civil War.

1642. Edgehill.
1643. Chalgrove Field.
1643. Adwalton Moor.
1643. Gainsborough.
1643. Stratton.
1643. Sieges of Hull, Gloucester and Plymouth.
1643. Newbury.
1644. Nantwich.
1644. Marston Moor.
1644. Cheriton.
1644. Cropredy Bridge.
1644. Lostwithiel.
1644. Second Battle of Newbury.
1644. Tippermuir.
1645. Kilsyth.
1645. Naseby.
1645. Philiphaugh.
1645. Rowton Heath.

CHAPTER XV.

The Commonwealth, 1649–1660.

Oliver Cromwell was appointed Lord Protector 1653; on his death, 1658, his son and nominee, Richard, succeeded him, but resigned on May 25, 1659.

CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

PAPACY.	EMPIRE.	FRANCE.	SPAIN.	TURKEY.	ELSEWHERE.
Innocent X. (1644)	Ferdinand III. (1637)	Louis XIV. (1643–1715)	Philip IV. (1621–1665)	Muhammad IV. (1648–1687)	Christina, *Sweden* (1632–1654)
Alexander VII. (1655)	Leopold I. (1658–1705)				Charles X., *Sweden* (1654–1660)

§ 170. **Settlement of Scotland and Ireland, 1649–1655.** —The death of the King left the Rump as the sole body with any show of legal authority; and such authority as it possessed depended upon the support of the Army. It nevertheless assumed the right to abolish both the office of King and the House of Lords as "dangerous"; and to declare England and "all the dominions and territories thereunto belonging" a "Commonwealth and Free State." The immediate task of the Army was to compel submission to the new Commonwealth. But first Fairfax and Cromwell were obliged to repress some armed efforts to obtain more revolutionary changes. Of these the most important was that of the Levellers, whose chief spokesman was John Lilburne. Their object was to bring Parliament under the control of the nation, and to reduce all ranks of society

to one level. Most of the dominions and territories belonging to England had then to be subjected by force to the Commonwealth. After Robert Blake had chased Prince Rupert's fleet from the British Seas to the Mediterranean, the Channel Islands, the British plantations in America and the West Indies were soon brought to submission. In August, 1649, Cromwell went to Ireland to bring the Irish War to a close. He avenged the "innocent blood" that had been shed in the rebellion of 1641 by storming Drogheda and Wexford. The garrisons of both places were put to the sword. The completion of the conquest was left to Cromwell's son-in-law, Ireton.

The following year saw Cromwell in Scotland. The eldest son of Charles I., called by the Scots Charles II., had been acknowledged as King in North Britain on the condition that he accepted Presbyterianism. In June, 1650, having submitted to Argyll's terms, Charles came to Scotland, and in the following month Cromwell crossed the Tweed, and marched on Edinburgh. He was forced to retire by the Scots under David Leslie, but took advantage of a false move on Leslie's part to defeat them at Dunbar on September 3. He then took Edinburgh, but was kept out of Stirling. Early in 1651, Charles was crowned at Scone, and in August, while Cromwell was occupied in the north, he invaded England. He was overtaken by Cromwell and defeated at Worcester on the anniversary of Dunbar. Charles escaped to France, and Scotland was conquered by Monk and Fleetwood before the end of 1655.

§ 171. **The Navigation Act, and War with the United Netherlands, 1651–1654.**—The Dutch and English had been commercial rivals throughout the seventeenth century; and in the Far East their trading companies had ever been at open war. In 1623, the Dutch had massacred the

English settlers at Amboyna, in the Moluccas, and expelled the English from the Spice Islands. Nearer home they had trespassed on English fishing grounds, and supported the Royalists in the outlying territories of England. The long rivalry broke into open war in 1652, when the Rump passed a *Navigation Act*, with the object of weakening the Dutch carrying trade, their chief source of wealth. The Act forbade Colonial produce to be imported into England except in ships built, commanded, and manned by Englishmen (whether of the mother country or of the colonies), or European produce to be imported into England except in English bottoms, or in ships belonging to the country producing the goods. At first the English were unsuccessful in the war. The Dutch Admiral, Van Tromp, after defeating Blake, in the estuary of the Thames, cruised about with a broom at his mast-head, in token that he had swept the English off the seas. But in the following year the Dutch admirals were defeated by the English off Portland, Yarmouth, and Texel, with the result that the United Provinces agreed to the *Treaty of Westminster*. They not only abandoned the cause of the Stuarts, but also acknowledged the supremacy of England in the Narrow Seas.

§ 172. **Oliver Cromwell made Protector, 1653.**—In the meantime, the Rump had been endeavouring to prolong its own existence. The result was a renewed quarrel between the Army and the Parliament. Cromwell, with the consent of the Council of Officers, told the members of the Rump that they were no Parliament and ordered his musketeers to turn them out of doors. He then chose a hundred and thirty-nine persons, "fearing God and of approved honesty and fidelity," from lists submitted to him by Congregationalist ministers throughout the country, to help him to provide for the "good government of the Commonwealth." This assembly proved thoroughly unpractical and

soon dissolved itself. It has been called "Barebone's Parliament," from a prominent member named Praise-God Barebone. Five days after its breakdown, Cromwell, by the advice of his officers, assumed the title of "Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland." His powers were defined by a written constitution called the *Instrument of Government*. He was to hold office for life; to direct the administration with the aid of a Council of State, to have a fixed income for the maintenance of a civil service and a standing army, and to depend on Parliament for extraordinary supplies. Parliament was to meet at least once in three years, and to sit not less than five months; the franchise was altered; and representatives were to be summoned from Scotland and Ireland. There was to be considerable liberty of religious worship, "provided that this liberty be not extended to Popery or Prelacy."

§ 173. **Foreign Policy of the Protectorate, 1654–1658.** — The energy and force of character of Oliver Cromwell won him the respect of foreign nations. One of the earliest acts of his Protectorate was to arrange the peace with the Dutch. His next, to make an alliance with Sweden against the Austrian Hapsburgs. He forced the Duke of Savoy to stop the persecution of his Protestant subjects, the Vaudois; and he intervened in the long war between France and Spain on the side of the more tolerant power—France. Though not uniformly successful in the war against Spain, the English were able to occupy Jamaica, to capture two treasure fleets, and to take Dunkirk. They finally helped to force Spain to accept the hard terms offered by the *Peace of the Pyrenees* in 1659. Oliver Cromwell's foreign policy raised England, for a time, to a high position in Europe.

§ 174. **Home Policy of the Protectorate, 1653–1658.**—

In his home policy the Protector met with serious difficulty. His first Parliament refused to recognise the *Instrument of Government*, protested against government by a single person, and was dissolved as soon as it had sat five *lunar* months. Oliver's government then became essentially military. After the suppression of Republican and Royalist risings, England was placed under martial law for more than a year; and the country was divided into thirteen districts, each patrolled by a major-general. In religious matters the Protector's government was equally despotic. But Oliver's rule, though as arbitrary as that of Charles I., had at least the merit of efficiency. From his second Parliament, the Protector accepted a new constitution. It was embodied in a document known as the *Humble Petition and Advice*, which increased the power of Parliament, but at the same time gave Oliver power to nominate his successor and the life-members of a second chamber. The House of Commons, however, quarrelled with this "Other House" and made further demands for more power, so Parliament was dissolved. It had previously offered Cromwell the title of King, an honour which, in view of the opposition of the Army, he thought it well to decline. The Protector was worn out by hard campaigns both in the field and in the Council board; and he was beset by the plots of those who were eager to earn the reward offered by Charles Stuart for his assassination. He fell ill and died on his lucky day, September 3.

§ 175. **Character and Work of Cromwell.**—The Protector knew that much of his work had failed. His government had been the government of a minority, imposed upon the majority by force, and it was not destined to survive him. Many of his views, as for instance those on toleration, were too far in advance of the times to live. But his career remains as a monument of the height to which intellectual

power and force of character, heated to a white heat by an intense personal religion, can raise a simple yeoman. Cromwell was not, however, without faults. His temper was fiery, his humour somewhat coarse, and his nature taciturn. But he was a great man. "A larger soul," as a contemporary said, "has seldom dwelt in a house of clay." Andrew Marvell, renowned for his public honesty in a most corrupt age, a political supporter of Cromwell though hardly a Puritan, gave high praise to both the man who "cast the kingdom old into another mold" and to his work.

> "He first put arms into Religion's hand,
> And tim'rous conscience into courage mann'd,
> The soldier taught that inward mail to wear,
> And fearing God how they should nothing feare."

§ 176. **The Year of Anarchy, 1659–1660.**—Cromwell was at once succeeded by his eldest son, Richard. But Richard had none of his father's genius, and he was unable to control the Army. He called a Parliament, but the Army, whose aim was to oust Richard, who was not a soldier, from the position of Lord General, compelled him to dissolve it and to re-assemble the remnants of the Rump. The Rump met, renewed its old opposition to government by a single person, and Richard gladly retired into private life. A year of anarchy followed. Several generals attempted to occupy Oliver's position, but without success. General Lambert, having suppressed a Royalist rising under Sir George Booth, marched on London and dissolved the Rump. George Monk, however, who was in command in Scotland, refused to recognise its dissolution. He marched on to London and compelled the Rump to recall the "secluded" members of 1648. The revived Long Parliament dissolved itself a month later. Monk had determined to use his power for no personal ends but to establish a "free Parliament." In April 1660, the

new Parliament assembled. The majority of the members represented the Presbyterian Royalists, who had risen for Charles I. in the second Civil War. The restoration of the monarchy was therefore almost a foregone conclusion. It was now only necessary for Charles to sign a declaration —called the *Declaration of Breda*—promising, subject to the consent of Parliament, a full amnesty, "liberty for tender consciences," security of property, and satisfaction for Monk's army. No sooner had Monk made the Declaration known to the Convention, than a deputation was sent to the prince, inviting him to return. On May 25 (1660) he landed at Dover, and four days later made a triumphal entry into London.

Chronology of Chief Events.

1649. Conquest of Ireland.
1649. Massacre of Drogheda.
1649. Massacre of Wexford.
1650. Battle of Dunbar.
1651. Battle of Worcester.
1651. Navigation Act.
1651. Blake defeats Rupert's fleet in the Mediterranean.
1652–4. Dutch War (First).
1652. Defeat of Blake by Van Tromp.
1653. Victories of English off Portland, Yarmouth and Texel.
1653. Barebone's Parliament.
1653. Instrument of Government.
1653. Cromwell becomes Protector.
1654. Peace with Holland.
1654–5. First Protectorate Parliament.
1655. Occupation of Jamaica.
1655–6. Persecution of the Vaudois.
1656–8. Second Protectorate Parliament.
1657. Humble Petition and Advice.
1657. Blake's capture of treasure-fleet in Teneriffe.
1658. Capture of Dunkirk.
1658. Death of Oliver Cromwell.
1658. Richard made Protector.
1659. Third Protectorate Parliament.
1659. Retirement of Richard.
1660. Dissolution of Long Parliament.

BOOK VI.

The Protestant Revolution, 1660–1688.

BEING

THE STUART PERIOD: PART II.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 177. **Retrospect, 1603–1660.** — The middle of the seventeenth century had been full of political experiments, which for the most part produced no permanent results, though some of them bore fruit in later years. Among the most notable were Charles I.'s attempt to govern without a Parliament (pp. 201–203), the Long Parliament's attempt to govern in conjunction with Charles (pp. 203–206), and the attempt of the party which had brought Charles to the block to govern without a King or House of Lords (pp. 215–221). The break-down of the first two experiments was mainly due to the character of Charles. But Charles never received the hatred and contempt felt for the military minority which had put him to death. The Puritan government failed because many of its political ideals were in advance of the age, because its morality was too austere, because of the early death of Oliver Cromwell, but most of all because of the discredit cast upon the party by the execution of the King. But the first Stuart struggle none the less vitally changed both public opinion and the institutions of the country.

§ 178. **Forecast.**—The restoration of the monarchy was

a victory for Parliament as well as for the Crown. The work of the first session of the Long Parliament remained, and for twenty years the new Stuart kings made no attempt to govern without a Parliament. But Charles II. and James II. had quite as lofty an idea of the Divine Right of Kings as their father and their grandfather. They showed it by their claim to *dispense* with or to *suspend* the laws of the land by virtue of their prerogative. The nation had added to its old horror of "Popery" a new dread of extreme Puritanism and a standing army, and a lively fear of civil war, which made it willing to endure much at the hands of lawful authority. The political situation of the next two reigns was determined, therefore, by the particular fear which chanced to be uppermost in the minds of the people. At last the fear of Popery became the strongest feeling, and caused the Protestant Revolution of 1688.

CHAPTER XVI.

Charles II., 1660–1685.

Born 1630; married Katherine of Braganza, 1662; died 1685.

CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

PAPACY.	EMPIRE.	FRANCE.	SPAIN.	TURKEY.	ELSEWHERE.
Alexander VII. (1655) Clement IX. (1667) Clement X. (1670) Innocent XI. (1676–1689)	Leopold I. (1658–1705)	Louis XIV. (1643–1715)	Philip IV. (1621) Charles II. (1665–1700)	Muhammad IV. (1648–1687)	Frederick William "Great Elector" of *Brandenburg* (1640–1688)

§ 179. **Nature of the Restoration and Views of the King.**—It seemed as if the monarchy had triumphed with the return of Charles II. But though Charles came back without conditions, the Long Parliament had deprived the Crown of its ready instruments, the Court of High Commission and the Star Chamber; it had finally refused to allow the King to raise taxes without its consent; and it had made him to all intents and purposes a constitutional monarch. Charles saw that he could not at first rule as he pleased; he always hoped, however, to make himself independent of Parliament in time.

§ 180. **The Convention and the Restoration Settlement, 1660.**—The extent of the indemnity which Charles had promised at Breda was determined by the *Convention*.[1]

[1] So called because, not having been called together by royal summons, it was not technically a parliament.

Thirteen regicides were executed and nineteen imprisoned for life. Two leading Presbyterians who were not regicides were also punished. Lambert was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and Vane to death. The question of what was to be done with the land which had changed hands during the Commonwealth, the Convention left to the law-courts for decision, and many of the Royalists received no compensation. On the question of finance, the King and the Convention came to an agreement. Charles received a fairly liberal life-grant, part of which took the form of an excise[1] on beer. In return for this tax the King finally relinquished the burdensome feudal dues (cp. p. 192). The King was well content, because the excise gave him a larger revenue than the feudal dues, and the *tenants in chivalry* were equally well pleased, because the burden of taxation was now more equally distributed. It fell more heavily upon the rest of the nation and more lightly on themselves. The arrangement made about the army was less agreeable to the King. Monk's army was paid off and disbanded with the exception of one regiment which, under the name of the Coldstream Guards, became later the nucleus of the standing army. Other regiments were raised during the reign of Charles II. for garrison duty and service abroad, but the King's attempts to form a standing army were always watched by Parliament with suspicion. The Convention was dissolved in December, 1660, and was succeeded by a regular Parliament.

§ 181. **The Restoration in Scotland and in Ireland, 1660–1665.** — Both Scotland and Ireland suffered commercially from the return of the Stuarts. Scotland was released from the parliamentary union with England, which had been forced upon it under the Commonwealth, but, at

[1] The excise was a new form of taxation introduced in the time of the Commonwealth.

the same time, Scotsmen were deprived of their equality in trade privileges with Englishmen. In the eyes of the King, the services which the Scots had rendered to himself did not outweigh their opposition to his father, and, though Argyll had put Charles II. on the Scottish throne in 1650, he was now executed as a traitor. Episcopacy was restored, and the *National Covenant* burnt by the common hangman. Ministers who rebelled left their manses and preached to their followers in open-air conventicles. In 1666, these rebels, who were known as Covenanters, attempted an armed resistance, but were defeated at Rullion Green. Charles' chief advisers in Scotland were James Sharpe, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and the Earl of Lauderdale. In Ireland the main difficulty was the land question. Though Charles wished to compensate the Royalists who had lost their lands through the Cromwellian Settlement, it was dangerous to dispossess the Puritan soldiers who had received the confiscated property. Two Acts were therefore passed by means of which one-third of the land belonging to the soldiers of the Commonwealth was confiscated and given back to the more prominent Royalists. The settlement pleased no one. About the same time an English Act, in the interest of the English farmers, forbade the export of Irish cattle, meat, or butter from Ireland to England.

§ 182. **The Cavalier Parliament, 1661–1679, and the Clarendon Code, 1661–1665.**—The Parliament which succeeded the Convention has sometimes been called, from its duration, "the Long Parliament of the Restoration;" sometimes, from its loyalty, "the Cavalier Parliament." It began by declaring that Parliament had no power to make laws without the King, that it could not legally make war on the King, and that the command of the military forces of the country belonged to the King alone. But its loyalty

did not blind it to the necessity of safeguarding the existence of Parliament. It passed a *Triennial Act*, which, while repealing many of the provisions of the Act of 1641, enacted that Parliament should meet at least once in every three years.

The loyalty of Parliament to Crown and Church showed itself also in legislation against the Puritans. The *Act of Uniformity* of 1662 was entirely ecclesiastical. The *Corporation Act* of 1661 was political as well as religious. It enacted that all candidates for office in municipal corporations should take the Communion in accordance with the rites of the Church of England, and should declare it unlawful to make alterations in Church or State.[1] The second and third anti-Puritan statutes had also political aims. They were designed to protect the religious teaching of the Church of England, and to prevent military conspiracies being made at meetings ostensibly held for religious worship. By the *Conventicle Act* all religious meetings that were not held in accordance with the *Act of Uniformity* of 1662 were rendered illegal. By the *Five Mile Act*, ministers who refused to conform were forbidden to teach or to come within five miles of any borough or any place where they had held livings. The four Acts were all prompted by dread of Puritan disloyalty. They were jointly known, after the title of the statesman who was credited with drafting them, as the "Clarendon Code."

§ 183. **The Foreign Policy of Charles II.**—The ruling aim of the King's foreign policy was money. Charles II.'s alliance might at any time be bought. In the second half of the seventeenth century France was the leading country in Europe, and a union of all the other nations against France seemed necessary to restore the balance of power, but Charles II. was almost continuously her ally. He married Katherine

[1] The Act thus made a religious test the qualification for lay office.

of Braganza, whose family had recently, with French help, made Portugal independent of Spain. Katherine brought as dowry Tangier[1] and Bombay, the latter being the first English possession, apart from *factories*, on the west side of India. In the same year Charles sold Dunkirk, Cromwell's last conquest from Spain, to Louis XIV. of France. This diminution of territory was more than counterbalanced by the increased colonial expansion of the two following years. In 1663, Clarendon, Albemarle (Monk), Anthony Ashley Cooper and other of the King's friends obtained a charter for the foundation of the colony of Carolina, and in 1664, Sir Robert Holmes seized the Dutch colonies lying between Virginia and New England. In 1665 the rivalry of the English and Dutch broke out a second time into open war. The contest took place at sea and was fairly equal on the whole; but in 1667 the English had the humiliation of seeing the Dutch fleet in the Medway. A month later the war was closed by the *Treaty of Breda* (1667). The Dutch kept Pularoon in the Moluccas and Surinam in Guiana; the English retained the Hudson valley, but recognised the right of France—who had been the passive ally of the Dutch during the later phase of the war—to the colony of Acadie or Nova Scotia.

§ 184. **Fall of Clarendon, 1667.**—In the meantime the nation had become profoundly dissatisfied. It regarded the sale of the useless conquest Dunkirk, and the attack of the Dutch on Chatham as national humiliations. In 1665, moreover, it had suffered from a terrible epidemic, which is known as the Great Plague of London. A year later the misery of the unfortunate people was increased by the Great Fire, which raged for three days, burned three-fifths of

[1] Tangier, after being garrisoned for twenty years as an English naval station at the entrance to the Mediterranean, was abandoned on account of its expense.

London, and rendered 200,000 people homeless.[1] Disasters and humiliations alike were laid to the charge of the Earl of Clarendon. Parliament was offended by Clarendon's opposition to its appropriation of the supplies and audit of the accounts. Though he recognised the right of the Commons to raise supplies, when in 1665 they insisted that their grants should be spent solely on the navy, and in the following year demanded a parliamentary audit of the royal accounts to see how the money had been spent, Clarendon opposed their claim to control the King's expenditure. The King was disappointed because Clarendon would not wholly countenance his plans. The Catholics did not love him; the Puritans had good reason to hate him; and all classes saw in the marriage of his daughter to James, Duke of York, the mark of an ambition too high for a subject; while his growing wealth, which was widely attributed to the sale of Dunkirk and the acceptance of bribes, laid him open to charges of treachery. That men did him great injustice, there can be little doubt, but he was certainly unwise both in manner and in policy. The King dismissed him, the Commons impeached him, and Charles urged him to leave the country lest he should meet the fate of Strafford. In his second, as in his previous exile, Clarendon occupied himself by writing his valuable work—*History of the Great Rebellion*.

§ 185. **The Second Period of the Reign and the Cabal, 1667–1672.**—After the fall of Clarendon, the King's personal policy gradually came to light, and as a result the dread of Roman Catholicism and the unpopularity of

[1] The burning of London gave the great architect—Sir Christopher Wren—an opportunity to show his genius. He built St. Paul's, as it now stands, and also many other churches and public buildings in the classical or Renaissance style. The architecture of the eighteenth century was modelled on the architecture of Ancient Greece and Rome, and was one of the products of the Renaissance.

the Catholic members of the House of Stuart increased. During the rest of the reign, Charles was more or less continuously in the pay of France. He was now aided in the work of government by a small group of ministers, officially known as the "Committee of Council on Foreign Affairs," but usually spoken of as the King's *Cabinet* or *Cabal*. One particular group is known as "*the* Cabal," not only because the initial letter of the names of its five members happened to spell the word, but also because each of the five was a man of conspicuous personality. They were Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley and Lauderdale. The Cabal gave their consent to a *Triple Alliance* between England, the United Provinces and Sweden (1668). Its object was to check the aggressions of Louis XIV. in the Spanish Netherlands. It was exceedingly popular in England.

§ 186. **The Secret Treaty of Dover and the Third War with the United Netherlands, 1670–1672.**—The King had no desire to quarrel with the King of France. In his eyes the Triple Alliance was only a device by which to wring larger payments from Louis for the neutrality of England. With French money he hoped to form a standing army, to render himself independent of Parliament, and to restore Roman Catholicism in England. In 1670, Louis and Charles came to an agreement in the *Secret Treaty of Dover*. In return for subsidies, the King of England undertook to help Louis to conquer the United Netherlands; and as soon as Charles thought it safe to declare himself a Roman Catholic, the King of France promised further subsidies, and also troops to put down any rebellion which might follow. Clifford, Arlington, and one or two other Roman Catholics alone knew the terms of the treaty; but, in order to explain Charles' change of foreign policy, Buckingham was allowed to negotiate another treaty. In this the

religious clauses were omitted; it is therefore known as the "*Sham*" *Treaty of Dover*. In 1671 Charles obtained a grant for the Navy, which was given by Parliament under the delusion that it was to be used for war against France. In the following year, acting on the recommendation of Clifford, he secured a further sum by the device known as the "*Stop of the Exchequer*." He announced that the money which the goldsmiths [1] had advanced to the Government would not be repaid when due, but would be retained for a twelvemonth; and that the interest on it would be reduced by one half. This policy, though it produced ready money at the moment, made it infinitely more difficult to raise money in the future. With these funds Charles embarked upon an indecisive naval war with the Dutch in 1672. About the same time Louis invaded the Northern Netherlands in person.

§ 187. **The Declaration of Indulgence, 1672, and the Test Act, 1673.**—In 1672, the King ventured upon a more open display of his policy. By a Royal Proclamation he suspended the execution of all penal laws in matters ecclesiastical against Nonconformists and Roman Catholics. By this Proclamation, which is known as the *Declaration of Indulgence*, many thousands of persons who had been imprisoned for disobeying the *Conventicle Act* were released from gaol. Amongst those set free was John Bunyan, the preaching tinker who, while in Bedford Gaol, had written the *Pilgrim's Progress*. The French alliance and the Dutch War had already made Parliament suspicious of the King's aim, and the fear of Puritanism, with which the reign had begun, was now lost in a dread of "Popery." Parliament compelled Charles to withdraw his Declaration and to consent to the *Test Act*, which required office-holders to take the sacrament according to the Anglican use, and to make

[1] The bankers of that day.

a declaration against Transubstantiation. The immediate results of the Act were the resignation by James, Duke of York, of his post as Lord High Admiral, and the break-up of the Cabal ministry. With the dissolution of the Cabal, Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby, became chief minister. He was opposed to the King's alliance with France, but powerless to prevent it. Danby tried to conciliate the nation by a peace with the United Provinces, and by a marriage between Mary, the eldest daughter of the Duke of York, and William of Orange. But in 1678 some knowledge of the King's transactions with France reached Parliament. The House of Commons turned with fury on his instrument Danby, and impeached him of treason. Charles saved him by dissolving Parliament (1679), but the next Parliament resumed the impeachment; refused to accept Danby's excuse that he was only executing the King's orders, and committed him to the Tower, where he remained without trial for some years. Thus it was shown that Parliament considered the king's minister to be responsible to the nation.

§ 188. **The Panic of the Popish Plot, the Exclusion Bill and the Habeas Corpus Act, 1678–1679.**—The alarm felt by the nation at the growth of "Popery" was increased in 1678 by tales of a supposed Popish Plot, which were first spread abroad by a miscreant of the name of Titus Oates. The story told by Oates and his friends was self-contradictory. But the nation was panic-stricken and readily believed that there was a conspiracy to murder Charles and to restore Roman Catholicism by means of a French army. Many innocent persons suffered death for alleged participation in the plot. Another result of the panic was the attempt of Parliament to pass an *Exclusion Bill*, with the object of excluding the Roman Catholic Duke of York from the succession to the throne. Charles hoped to pacify the

Commons by giving his assent to the *Habeas Corpus Act* (1679), which Shaftesbury had introduced. By this Bill various devices by means of which the Government had evaded or delayed the action of the Habeas Corpus writ (p. 199) were henceforward prohibited. The Commons, however, persisted in their demand for the Exclusion Bill, and in June 1679 Charles dissolved Parliament.

§ 189. **Political Parties and the Fate of the Exclusion Bill, 1679-1681.**—The King issued writs for a new Parliament in the autumn, but delayed its meeting for a year. Two parties were subsequently formed, one consisting of *Petitioners* for a Parliament, the other of *Abhorrers* of a change in the succession. The nicknames which the two parties gave each other survived as party-names until very recent times. The Abhorrers compared the Petitioners to a sect of fanatical Lowland-Covenanters—known as *Whigs;* the Petitioners likened the Abhorrers to the *Tories*—the name given to the outlawed banditti of Ireland. These names reflected the respective attitudes of the Irish and the Scots to the policy of Charles II. The prospect of a Roman Catholic Restoration was as alarming to Scotland as it was pleasing to Ireland. In 1679 the Covenanters of the Clyde Valley had risen against oppression. After defeating a few English troops under John Graham of Claverhouse, at Drumclog, they had been defeated by Monmouth, the illegitimate son of the King, at Bothwell Brigg. In the previous month Archbishop Sharpe had been murdered by a party of Covenanters near St. Andrews. The rebellion in Scotland was put down by the Duke of York with great cruelty. In 1680 the Whigs had a large majority in the House of Commons. They passed the Exclusion Bill, but it was rejected by the House of Lords, and the King dissolved Parliament. In the following year Charles, in order to deprive the Whigs of the support of

the Londoners, summoned his fifth Parliament to meet at Oxford. The panic of the Popish Plot was dying out. The Whig party, moreover, divided over the question of a substitute for James. Some of them preferred his daughter Mary, the Protestant wife of the champion of Protestantism, William of Orange; but Shaftesbury had chosen Monmouth, and pressed Charles in vain to make him legitimate. The King took advantage of these circumstances. He offered to consent to a Bill providing that, if his brother came to the throne, the actual administration of affairs should be in the hands of Mary of Orange. The terms being refused, Charles, having by this device made his opponents appear unreasonable, dissolved Parliament after a session of only one week.

§ 190. **The Royalist Reaction and the Rye House Plot, 1681–1683.**—The King was now rich enough to govern without support. Louis XIV.—alarmed by the possibility of a union of England and the United Provinces under one sovereign—had promised to pay him £200,000 a year for three years, if he would only leave Parliament unsummoned during that time. And about the same time an assassination plot gave Charles an increased popularity. In 1683 some of the lesser Whig leaders formed a plot to kill Charles and James at Rye House, near Broxbourne, on their way back from a race-meeting at Newmarket. The plot was discovered. Its actual designers escaped, but some of the more prominent Whigs—notably Russell and Algernon Sidney—were accused of complicity and executed. Monmouth was exiled about the same time. Charles took advantage of the outburst of loyalty which followed the plot to restore James, in defiance of the Test Act, to his post of Lord High Admiral.

§ 191. **The Re-modelling of the Corporations and Death of Charles, 1682–1685.**—The next step of the King was

to make sure that future Parliaments should not contain a majority of Whigs. The strength of the Tories lay in the country; the strength of the Whigs lay in the towns. Since at this time the elections in most of the parliamentary boroughs were in the hands of the corporations, the object of Charles was to control the corporations. He accordingly had the existing charters of boroughs declared invalid, and granted them new charters, providing for a permanent Tory majority in the corporations. Though he could now confidently expect a favourable Parliament, the King did not summon one at the end of the three years' limit fixed by law. In 1685 he had an apoplectic fit, and died after a few days' illness. On his death-bed he practically confessed himself a Roman Catholic. Cunning and unscrupulous in public policy, vicious and self-indulgent in private life, he must yet be pronounced the wisest of the Stuarts. His ambitions were as dangerous and as impracticable as those of the other members of his House. But he possessed the tact and some of the ability of the Tudors. He knew when to seize an advantage, and when it was prudent to draw back. And so after a troubled time he had some years of peace at the end. His unruffled cheerfulness won him the name of "the Merry Monarch," and he is known to history as the wittiest of English kings.

Chronology of Chief Events.

1660. Bill of Indemnity and Oblivion.
1661–79. Cavalier Parliament.
1661. Execution of Argyll.
1661. Corporation Act.
1662. Fourth Act of Uniformity.
1662. Act of Settlement for Ireland.
1662. Marriage of Charles.
1663. Colony of Carolina founded.
1664. Conventicle Act.
1664. Triennial Act.
1664. Sir Robert Holmes seizes Dutch colonies between Virginia and New England.
1665. Five Mile Act.
1665. Great Plague.
1665. Appropriation of Supplies.
1665–7. War with Dutch.
1666. Great Fire.
1667. Parliament insists on Audit of Accounts.

1667. Fall of Clarendon.
1667. Dutch in the Medway.
1667. Treaty of Breda.
1667. Triple Alliance.
1667. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.
1670. Second Conventicle Act.
1670. Treaty of Dover and Sham Treaty.
1672. Stop of the Exchequer.
1672. Declaration of Indulgence.
1672. War with Dutch.
1673. Test Act.
1674. Peace with United Provinces.
1677. Marriage of Mary with Prince of Orange.
1678–80. Panic of Popish Plot.
1678. Impeachment of Danby.
1679. Dissolution of Long Parliament of the Restoration.
1679. Second Parliament.
1679. Danby imprisoned.
1679. Third Parliament.
1679. Habeas Corpus Act.
1679. Exclusion Bill proposed.
1679. Rebellion of Covenanters.
1680. Fourth Parliament's struggle over Exclusion Bill and Dissolution.
1681. Fifth Parliament: Succession Discussion.
1683. Rye House Plot.
1683. Execution of Russell and Sidney.

CHAPTER XVII.

James II., 1685–1688.

Born 1633; married (*a*) Anne Hyde 1660, (*b*) Mary Beatrice d'Este of Modena, 1673; "deserted" his English kingdom, 1688; declared by an English Parliamentary Convention to have "abdicated," 1689; died 1701.

CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

PAPACY.	EMPIRE.	FRANCE.	SPAIN.	TURKEY.	ELSEWHERE.
Innocent XI. (1676–1689)	Leopold I. (1658–1705)	Louis XIV. (1643–1715)	Charles II. (1665–1700)	Muhammad IV. (1648–1687)	Frederick William *Brandenburg* (1640–1688.

§ 192. **Character and Position of James.**—James II. ascended the throne at a favourable moment. The Royalist reaction was not yet over. His first Parliament, the product of the re-modelled corporations, was strongly Tory; it granted him a large yearly income; France promised him financial aid; he possessed a standing army; the Church was not unfriendly; and he created a favourable impression at the opening of his reign by pledging himself to "preserve the government in both Church and State as it is now by law established." But the character of James was to be his ruin. He had the same obstinacy, the same self-confidence, and the same lack of imagination and insight as his unfortunate father. From the first he entirely misunderstood the feeling of the nation. He failed to realise

that nine-tenths of the English people were ardently Protestant, and believed that he had only to supply the English nation with Romanist leaders to induce it to accept his own faith.

§ 193. **Rebellions of Argyll and Monmouth, 1685.**—The King's sanguine view of the situation was confirmed by the ease with which two serious rebellions were repressed in his first year. In Scotland, Argyll failed to organise a rising among his clan, the Campbells of the Highlands, and his sect, the Covenanters of the Lowlands. He met a traitor's death at Edinburgh, as his father had done before him. In the meantime, Monmouth had landed at Lyme Regis, in Dorset. On his way to Taunton, where he assumed the title of King, the peasantry flocked in thousands to his support. At Sedgemoor, near Bridgewater, he planned a night attack on the royal army. His troops were raw country lads, brave, but lacking arms and discipline; the intended surprise failed, and the insurgents were easily overwhelmed and scattered by the King's army. Immediately after the battle Colonel Kirke pursued them and put to death all on whom he could lay hands. "King Monmouth" was captured in disguise a few days later, and executed as a traitor. And in the autumn Lord Jeffreys, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, went on that western circuit which so richly earned its name of the *Bloody Assize.* Jeffreys treated his prisoners to a ferocious mockery, he was not careful to distinguish between the innocent and the guilty, and he spared neither age nor sex. He sentenced three hundred and twenty persons to be hanged, and eight-hundred and forty one to be transported to the West Indies.

§ 194. **The Dispensing Power and Hales' Case, 1686.**—Loyal as Parliament was, it refused to grant James further supplies unless the *Test Act* were strictly enforced. James,

claiming that his royal prerogative entitled him not only to pardon people convicted of a breach of the law, but also to give leave beforehand to a person to disobey the law, allowed Roman Catholics to hold office without making the religious declarations legally required of them. Like his father and brother, he appealed to the judges to aid him to evade the law. In 1686, in the case of Sir Edward Hales, the Court of the King's Bench upheld his action, and James seized the opportunity to fill his army with Roman Catholic officers. He also established a Court of High Commission, not unlike that abolished in 1641, but without jurisdiction over the laity. In 1687 he felt strong enough to take still more extreme steps. He hoped to control London by means of an army which he had posted at Hounslow.

§ 195. **The Declarations of Indulgence and the Trial of the Seven Bishops, 1688.**—The religious policy upon which James now embarked united all classes of his subjects against him in an incredibly short space of time. In 1687 he suspended the penal laws against both Catholics and Dissenters by a *Declaration of Indulgence*. He hoped that it would bribe the Nonconformists into supporting his Romanist policy, but he soon found himself mistaken. His real object was too clearly revealed by an attempt to force Roman Catholicism on the Universities. The Court of High Commission ejected the Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, for refusing to accept either of the King's Roman Catholic nominees—Parker or Giffard—as their President. In the following year James issued a second *Declaration of Indulgence*, and ordered it to be read in all the churches. His injunction was widely disobeyed. In some churches the *Declaration* was not read; in others its reading was attended by the departure of the congregation. William Sancroft, the Primate, and six other bishops drew up a

petition to the King praying to be excused from reading an illegal document in God's house. James ordered their prosecution for seditious libel. Their trial ended in acquittal, and the verdict was received with open joy, not only by the populace of London, but also by the army at Hounslow.

§ 196. **The Invitation to William of Orange.**—The birth of a son to James, two days after the arrest of the bishops, was the final blow to his cause. The Catholics were openly triumphant, the Protestants in despair. The Protestant majority in the nation had found his rule tolerable only while there was a prospect of the ultimate succession of his daughters, both of whom had been educated in the reformed faith. But when his heir was a Roman Catholic prince, all hope of relief was gone. The public seized gladly on the rumour that the baby was not the King's child, but had been smuggled into the palace in a warming-pan. It served to justify rebellion. William of Orange was at once invited by representatives of all parties to bring over an army for the protection of the Protestant liberties of England. The invitation was one which he was eager to accept. He wished to withdraw England from her alliance with France, and to enlist her in the cause of the *League of Augsburg*, which he had built up in 1688 for the purpose of resisting the aggressive policy of Louis XIV. As soon, therefore, as he could safely leave the Netherlands unprotected, he landed at Torbay in Devonshire. The flight of King James to France, a little more than a month later, removed the last serious obstacle from his path. But the Convention, which William summoned after the example of Monk, to settle the constitutional problem, found it difficult to decide in what capacity William could lawfully assume the government. Since he refused either to be regent for James or prince consort to Mary, it at last declared that James,

having broken the original contract[1] between King and people, and abdicated the government, had left the throne vacant, and "that it was inconsistent with the national safety to be ruled by a Papist Prince." It then offered the Crown jointly to William and Mary. They accepted it on the conditions laid down in the Declaration of Right:—

(1) That the pretended Suspending Power and the pretended Dispensing Power, "as it had been assumed and exercised of late," are illegal.
(2) That such courts as the Courts of High Commission are illegal and pernicious.
(3) That levying money by pretence of prerogative, without grant of Parliament, for longer time than the same is granted, is illegal.
(4) That it is the right of subjects to petition the King.
(5) That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom, in time of peace, unless it be with consent of Parliament, is illegal.
(6) That elections of Parliaments ought to be free.
(7) That the freedom of speech or debates in Parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament.
(8) That for the redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, Parliament ought to be held frequently.

Chronology of Chief Events.

1685. Meeting of only Parliament.
1685. Rebellion of Argyll.
1685. Rebellion of Monmouth.
1685. Battle of Sedgemoor.
1685. "Bloody Assize."
1686. Dispensing Power.
1686. Hales' Case.
1687. First Declaration of Indulgence.
1688. Second Declaration of Indulgence.
1688. Birth of the son of James II.
1688. Acquittal of the seven Bishops.
1688. Landing of William of Orange.
1688. Flight of James.
1689. Declaration of Right.

[1] In opposition to the theory of the Divine Right of Kings, the supporters of Parliamentary government had invented the theory of the Social Contract—or of an original compact between King and people. Rebellion they declared to be justifiable if the King broke his part of the compact—to govern for the welfare of his people.

BOOK VII.

The Rise of Party Government, 1688–1754.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 197. **Retrospect, 1660–1688.**—The Stuarts had been restored by the almost universal consent of the nation, and, while Charles II. was on the throne, had, on the whole, regained popularity. But James II. so completely dissipated it, as to lose the most important of his three kingdoms. We have now to see how he lost the sister kingdoms, and how his dynasty was kept out of the realms which he had thrown away. The acceptance of the *Declaration of Right* by William and Mary forms a landmark in the history of England. It was nearly three years, however, before William and Mary secured Scotland and Ireland; and it was nearly sixty years before the possibility of a second Stuart restoration was at an end.

§ 198. **General Results of the Protestant Succession at Home and Abroad.**—British policy for the next two generations was dominated by the necessity of securing the Protestant succession. This led to the abandonment of the attempt to enforce ecclesiastical unity within the kingdom of England, and affected the relations of England with both Scotland and Ireland. The majority of the Scots approved the Revolution; the majority of the Irish opposed it. Ireland, therefore, was made more than ever dependent on Great Britain; while concessions were made

to Scotland in order to induce the Scots to enter into a closer union. The Revolution threw England, since the French King was the most powerful advocate of the Stuarts, into an opposition to France, which developed into a world-wide struggle for colonies[1] and commerce. The strength of England lay throughout in her insular position and in her Navy.

§ 199. **Constitutional Results of the Protestant Revolution.**—One of the immediate effects of the Protestant Revolution was a diminution of the powers of the Crown. Some were suppressed by the *Bill of Rights*, others were limited and made dependent upon the approbation of Parliament. The practice of granting money-supplies, and the powers necessary for the maintenance of military discipline for short periods only, made frequent Parliaments necessary. When Parliament, endowed with such powers, met constantly, the King soon found that he must choose as his ministers men acceptable to Parliament. As a result, the methods of keeping harmony between the ruler and the ruled, which we know as party-government and the Cabinet system, were gradually evolved.

[1] At the end of the century the English colonies were confined to a fringe of the eastern sea-board of North America; her dependencies were thinly scattered along the coasts of West Africa and Southern Asia. Neither were so much valued at home as the intermediate possessions—ranking between colonies and dependencies—in the West Indies. *Colonies* = territories where Englishmen can live and bring up families. *Dependencies* = territories where they cannot live permanently, but can only stay for a few years to enrich themselves by trading.

CHAPTER XVIII.

William and Mary, 1689–1702.

William and Mary were declared joint rulers of England, France, and Ireland by the English Convention on February 13, 1689; they were declared joint rulers of Scotland by the Scottish Convention on May 11, 1689. Mary was the eldest daughter of James, Duke of York—afterwards James II.—by his first wife, Anne Hyde; born 1662; married her cousin, William of Orange, 1677; died 1694. William was the posthumous son of William II., Prince of Orange, etc., by Mary, elder daughter of Charles I. of England; born 1650; succeeded his father-in-law as King of England, etc.; sole monarch after his wife's death; died 1702.

CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

PAPACY.	EMPIRE.	FRANCE.	SPAIN.	SWEDEN.	POLAND.	RUSSIA.
Alexander VIII. (1689) Innocent XII. (1691) Clement XI. (1700–1720)	Leopold I. (1658–1705)	Louis XIV. (1643–1715)	Charles II. (1665–1700) (*Last of the* Spanish *Hapsburgs*)	Charles XI. (1660) Charles XII. (1697–1718)	John Sobieski (1677–1697)	Peter the Great (1689–1725)

§ 200. **The Revolution Settlement in England, 1689–1690.**—In William III. the English found a ruler devoted primarily to interests other than their own. Except as a valuable ally in his great struggle against the predominant power of France, the new King cared but little for his island kingdom. But since he was willing to endure the limitations of a constitutional monarch in England, in order to obtain her support for his foreign aims, and since it was to the interest of England that the ambitious aims

of Louis XIV. should be thwarted, his rule conferred lasting benefits upon the nation. After William and Mary had accepted the Crown, the Convention became a lawful Parliament, and undertook the work of settlement.

In financial policy it effected some important changes; it made a distinction between the ordinary and the extraordinary expenses of the Crown, giving the king a life-grant for the former, but resolving to supply the latter by special grants for short periods only. William on his side promised facilities for the parliamentary *audit* of accounts, and in a few years' time the practice of the parliamentary *appropriation of supplies* came into regular use. Broadly speaking, Parliament may be said to have secured control over the *revenue* of the Crown by the Puritan Revolution, and over the *expenditure* of the Crown by the Protestant Revolution.

For the difficult question of a standing army Parliament found a wise solution. Such an army was necessary for the protection of England at a time when her neighbours on the continent already maintained trained forces; but, as the history of the last thirty years had shown, it might be made an instrument of arbitrary power. Parliament accordingly passed a *Mutiny Act*, authorising the Government, for six months only, to punish by martial law the insubordination or desertion of soldiers in the pay of the Crown. The principle is still upheld by the modern annual Army Act. Thus the Government can only maintain an army while the ministers retain the confidence of Parliament. Parliament endeavoured to protect the new Government from internal treachery by requiring all office-holders in Church and in State to take new Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. Fresh penal laws were enacted against the Roman Catholics, and the Protestant Nonconformists were rewarded for their support of the Revolution by a

Toleration Act (1689), which permitted all English Nonconformists—except Roman Catholics and Unitarians—to assemble for public worship on conditions designed to guard against possible conspiracy. Finally, the *Declaration of Right* was made a statute in the form of the *Bill of Rights*.

§ 201. **The Massacre of Glencoe, 1692.**—Though the Convention, summoned at Edinburgh to discuss the terms of settlement was on the whole favourably inclined towards William, James II. was not without partisans in Scotland; and John Grahame of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, raised an army in his behalf. But the rising ended, two months after William and Mary had accepted the offer of the Scottish Crown, with the death of Dundee, in a fight at the Pass of Killiecrankie.

The new sovereigns strengthened their position by consenting to the re-establishment of Presbyterianism in the Scottish Kirk; but the Highland clans were still dissatisfied. They did not take kindly to a Revolution which restored the hated clan of Campbell to power. They bowed, nevertheless, to the military superiority of the government; their way was made easy for them by gifts of money, and, with one fatal exception, the Highland chiefs took the Oath of Allegiance required by them before the close of the year 1691. Ian Macdonald of Glencoe, putting off his submission to the latest possible moment, accidentally delayed too long. The King's ministers, not knowing that he had sworn allegiance after the expiration of the appointed time, resolved to make him an example. His punishment was entrusted to the Campbells, and executed with unexampled treachery. Having claimed and enjoyed the hospitality of the Macdonalds for some days, they turned on their hosts and put them mercilessly to the sword.

§ 202. **The Third Conquest of Ireland, 1689–1691.**—

The Irish had approved the religious policy of James II., and they could not hope, like the Scots, to gain a satisfactory religious settlement by submission to the new government. Their resistance to William was, therefore, much more serious than that of the Scots. When James II. landed in Ireland in 1689, the Protestants in Ulster took refuge from the vengeance of the Roman Catholics in Londonderry and in Enniskillen. The subsequent siege of Londonderry is memorable for the courage and endurance shown by the besieged. After bearing every privation with unbroken resolution, they were relieved by Colonel Kirke. A few days later the Protestants in Enniskillen sallied forth and won a decisive victory at Newtown Butler.

These victories secured Ulster for William, and in 1690 he invaded Ireland in person, and by defeating James II. at the Boyne near Drogheda became master of Dublin and Leinster. But the Irish still held out in Limerick, and defended themselves so well that William was compelled to raise the siege and return to England, leaving the conduct of the war in the hands of Ginckel, a Dutchman, and John Churchill, Earl of Marlborough. In the same year the French won a victory at sea off Beachy Head, and were enabled by their success to send troops to Ireland. William's generals, however, were almost uniformly successful, and in 1691 Limerick surrendered. It was arranged that the Irish troops might disband or take service either under William or in France, and that the Irish Catholics were to have such freedom in the exercise of their religion as was consistent with the law. Unfortunately the uncompromising attitude of the Protestants in the Irish Parliament made it impossible to carry out the latter provision, and the *Treaty of Limerick* is sometimes styled the *Broken Treaty*.

§ 203. **War in the Southern Netherlands, 1691–1697.**—After the battle of the Boyne, William felt himself free to lead the European armies against Louis XIV. Though he was no mean commander, his task was a hard one, and he was hampered throughout by the half-hearted support of the English ministers and commanders. While the restoration of James seemed not only possible, but probable, many prominent Englishmen corresponded with James II.; and in 1692 William had to dismiss his most valued general, Marlborough, for treachery.

The King rarely won a battle. He was unable to save Mons; he lost the battle of Steinkirk, and he failed to relieve Namur. But these defeats were more than counterbalanced by Russell's great naval victory over Tourville off La Hogue, which restored to the English their command of the sea, and, on the whole, William succeeded in keeping France in check.

§ 204. **Home Policy of the Reign.**—The expenses of the war necessitated some new methods of raising money, for which Charles Montague, afterwards Earl of Halifax, and Godolphin were mainly responsible. The National Debt dates from 1693, when the Government for the first time borrowed money on the guarantee of Parliament that it would pay the interest on the loan. Formerly the creditors of the Government had had to trust to the personal promise of the King to repay the principal; and their security depended on the trustworthiness of the monarch and the stability of his position. The Bank of England dates from 1694, when a group of Whig capitalists, in return for a loan, received a charter for its foundation. Two years later the currency was restored (p. 163) on the advice of Montague and Somers, and by the management of the philosopher, Locke, and the great mathematician, Isaac Newton. The depreciated coinage was replaced by a new

coinage, protected by milled edges against the old practice of clipping. The Government bore the loss of giving good coin for bad for the sake of improved trade and prosperity. In 1694 a *Triennial Act* limited the duration of Parliament to three years. A little later William strengthened his position by choosing his ministers from the party which had a majority in the House of Commons. By 1697 he had formed a purely Whig ministry.

§ 205. **The Death of Queen Mary and the Unpopularity of William, 1694.**—It was the unpopularity of the King which had compelled him to conciliate public opinion by concessions to Parliament. The Queen had died of small-pox in 1694. Her domestic virtues and warm heart had made her personally popular; and her tactful energy had done much to smooth the work of government, which she had voluntarily left in her husband's hands. But William was disliked for his cold manner and for his foreign birth. Though he had Stuart blood in his veins—he was the grandson of Charles I.—his claim to the throne was not so good as that of his wife, or her sister.

The years following the death of the Queen were marked by a number of Jacobite[1] intrigues. But in 1695 William gained a transient popularity by his recapture of Namur, and in 1696 the discovery of Jacobite plots resulted in the formation of a Loyal Association for his protection. But William was still far from popular, and even the satisfactory peace with which he closed his struggle against France could not make him so. In 1697, Louis came to terms with all his enemies —England, the United Provinces, Spain and the Empire— in the group of treaties known as the *Peace of Ryswick*. He abandoned the conquests which he had made since

1 Those who supported the Stuart cause after 1688 were called Jacobites from the Latin word for James—Jacobus.

1678, and he recognised the Protestant succession in England. William, knowing that the peace was merely temporary, wished to prepare for another struggle, but he was thwarted by his Parliament. Regardless of his wish to keep the Army as a guarantee of peace, Parliament, considering it both costly and dangerous to the Constitution, reduced it to 7000 men.

In the meantime, William had raised a storm in Scotland by his supposed opposition to the Darien Scheme (1698–1700). A Scottish company had been formed, with the object of trading with Africa and the East Indies, and of establishing a settlement in the Isthmus of Darien or Panama. The failure of the scheme and the loss of life and property which resulted from the failure were ascribed to the King. Unpopular and thwarted on every side, it was little wonder that William was tempted to leave England for ever.

§ 206. **The Partition Treaties, 1698–1700.**—Louis XIV. had made peace at Ryswick with the object of preparing for the still more important contest which he knew to be at hand. The life of Charles II. of Spain, the last direct male descendant of the Spanish branch of the House of Hapsburg, was drawing near its close; and his death must inevitably involve a disputed succession between his cousins, the Hapsburgs of Austria and the Bourbons of France. To preserve the balance of power, the leading statesmen in Europe were anxious to divide the Spanish dominions among the different candidates.

In 1698 England and the United Netherlands came to terms with France in the *First Partition Treaty*, whereby most of the Spanish dominions were assigned to the least formidable of the three claimants, Joseph, Electoral Prince of Bavaria. His death in the following year necessitated a fresh arrangement. The *Second Partition Treaty*

(1700) gave the larger share to the Archduke Charles of Austria, the lesser—including Naples, Sicily, and the Milanese—to the Dauphin. But when Charles II. died in the following November, he left the whole of his possessions to Philip, Duke of Anjou, the younger son of the Dauphin. Louis XIV. at once threw over the Partition Treaty, and accepted the will, and William was compelled by Parliament to recognise the Bourbon claimant.

§ 207. **The Act of Settlement, June, 1701.**—The death of the Princess Anne's only living child, the Duke of Gloucester, made it necessary to decide who should ultimately succeed Anne. In 1701, Parliament, by the *Act of Settlement*, fixed upon Sophia, Electress of Hanover, as the next Protestant heir. The Act of Settlement further required the possessor of the English Crown to be in communion with the Church of England. It declared that no person impeached by the Commons could plead a pardon granted by the King under the Great Seal; and it established a very useful constitutional rule when it enacted that judges were to hold office during good conduct with fixed salaries, but might be removed upon the address of both Houses. Some of the provisions of the Act of Settlement were prompted by jealousy of William's foreign interests and foreign friends; and they were designed to prevent his bestowing English offices or English money upon them. Having indirectly attacked the King's policy both at home and abroad, the Tories—who had been the authors of these hostile clauses—went one step further. They impeached three members of the Whig Junto—a group of ministers who constituted a sort of Cabinet, consisting of Somers, Halifax (Montague), and Russell (now Earl of Orford), and William Bentinck, Duke of Portland. But the impeachment fell through. The continued attacks on William were tending to cause a revulsion of feeling in his favour when

Louis XIV. hastened the turn of the tide by acknowledging James Edward Stuart, "the Old Pretender," as King of England on his father's death. William seized the opportunity to build up a *Grand Alliance* in support of the Hapsburg claimant against the Bourbon possessor of the Spanish throne. But before open hostilities could begin, the indefatigable enemy of France was dead. He fell from his horse and broke his collar-bone, and owing to the feeble state of his health, the accident proved fatal. He died on March 8, 1702.

§ 208. **Estimate of the Reign and Work of William III.** —The reign of William had given liberty to the English Press.[1] It had seen an important step towards party government, a great advance in the direction of religious freedom, and significant colonial developments. William Dampier sailed for the first time to the exploration of Australia; the East India Company secured a permanent foothold in Bengal, and the Church of England inaugurated her foreign and colonial missionary work. Finally, though William had not lived to see the great aim of his life achieved, he had laid secure foundations for its realisation when he built up the Grand Alliance, which was to break for ever the overwhelming power of Louis XIV. on the continent of Europe. The wise and silent King had worked with indomitable patience towards one distant end. He could not attain to it, but he died within sight of the goal.

Chronology of Chief Events.

1689. Mutiny Act.
1689. Toleration Act.
1689. Bill of Rights.
1689. Claim of Right.
1689. Battle of Killiecrankie.
1689. Relief of Londonderry.
1690. Restoration of Presbyterianism in Scotland.
1690. Battles of Beachy Head and Boyne.

1 In 1695, Parliament, by omitting to renew the Licensing Act, gave liberty to the Press.

1691. Siege of Limerick.
1691. Treaty of Limerick.
1692. Massacre of Glencoe.
1692. Battles of La Hogue and Steinkirk.
1693. National Debt founded.
1693–7. Formation of Whig Junto.
1694. Bank of England.
1694. Third Triennial Act.
1694. Death of Mary.
1695. Re-capture of Namur.
1695. Lapse of the Licensing Act.
1696. Jacobite Plots.
1696. Loyal Association.
1696. Restoration of the Currency.
1697. Peace of Ryswick.
1698–1700. Scots Darien Scheme.
1698. First Partition Treaty.
1700. Second Partition Treaty.
1700. Death of Charles II. of Spain.
1700. Death of the Duke of Gloucester.
1701. Act of Settlement.
1701. Death of James II.
1701. The Grand Alliance.

CHAPTER XIX.

Queen Anne, 1702–1714.

Younger daughter of James II.; born 1664; married George, second son of Frederick III., King of Denmark, 1683; died 1714.

CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

PAPACY.	EMPIRE.	PRUSSIA.	FRANCE.	SPAIN.	SWEDEN.	RUSSIA.
Clement XI. (1700–1721)	Leopold I. (1658) Joseph I. (1705) Charles VI. (1711)	Frederick I. *Brandenburg* (1688–1713) *First King of Prussia* (1701)	Louis XIV. (1643–1715)	Philip V. (1700–1746) Rival Claimant (*Hapsburg*): Archduke Charles	Charles XII. (1697–1718)	Peter the Great (1689–1725)

§ 209. **Character and Views of the Queen.**—Anne, younger daughter of James II., succeeded to the throne. She was a Stuart, and had inherited some of the faults of her House. But, though obstinate, she was not absolutely unpliable, and she was neither blind nor indifferent to the force of public opinion. She had a great love for her country and deep family affections. In the early part of her reign her attachment to Sarah, Countess of Marlborough, gave the Churchills a preponderating influence over her policy. Marlborough used his power to further his aims with regard to the War of the Spanish Succession and, when it suited his purpose, to modify the Queen's aversion to the Whigs. Anne liked to choose her ministers irrespective of party, or at least not necessarily from the party which possessed

the majority in Parliament. Believing, moreover, that the ascendency of the Whigs, since they favoured the Dissenters, meant danger to the Church, she personally preferred the Tories. Her devotion to the Anglican Church was very genuine. She showed its strength by giving up her income from the first-fruits of ecclesiastical benefices and making it the nucleus of a fund—ever since known as Queen Anne's Bounty—for increasing small livings. She also kept the control of ecclesiastical preferments in her own hands.

§ 210. **War of the Spanish Succession, 1702–1706.**—Before his death William III. had united in the Grand Alliance such European states as were ready to oppose the succession of the Bourbons in Spain. The chief ally of England was the Netherlands, and diplomatists habitually spoke of the two countries jointly as the "Sea Powers." England was anxious to protect her Protestant succession, and to prevent France from excluding Englishmen from trade with Spanish America. The United Provinces had good reason to fear for their independence if France should gain a firm hold on the Spanish Netherlands. The contest was fought out on the sea, in the Netherlands, on the Danube, in Italy, and in Spain. Its opening was unfavourable to the Grand Alliance. Marlborough, the English commander, whose military genius soon placed him at the head of affairs, was hampered by the jealousy or caution of his allies. He nevertheless conducted two successful campaigns in the Netherlands. But Admiral Benbow was defeated in the West Indies, and most of the opponents of France suffered the like fate. These losses were, however, more than counterbalanced by the diplomatic victory which won Savoy and Portugal over to the side of the Grand Alliance. With Portugal England signed an important treaty, known from the name of its negotiator as the *Methuen Treaty*, which admitted Portuguese wines into

England and English woollens into Portugal at lower rates than the similar products of other countries.

In the meantime Louis allied himself with Bavaria, and aimed a decisive blow at Vienna. But Marlborough unexpectedly marched south from Belgium, and skilfully effected a juncture with Prince Eugene of Savoy, who commanded for Austria. They brought the Franco-Bavarian army under Marshal Tallard to bay, and at Blenheim on the Danube, early in August, 1704, won an overwhelming victory. About the same time Rooke captured Gibraltar. The national importance of this acquisition was not at first realised. It was merely an incident, of no special importance, in the course of a long series of naval raids on the Spanish coasts. In 1705, Peterborough took Barcelona and occupied Madrid; while Marlborough won the battle of Ramillies in Brabant and occupied Brussels (1706). Both commanders signalised their victories by proclaiming the Archduke Charles of Austria King of Spain. In Italy the forces of the allies, under Prince Eugene, were also victorious, and Naples and Milan were captured in 1706. These losses induced Louis XIV. to offer terms. He was prepared to recognise the Austrian claimant as King over all the Spanish dominions except Naples and the Milanese; but, owing to the influence of the Emperor and of Marlborough, the allies rejected his offer and prolonged the war. It was a mistake, for in the end they had to take less.

§ 211. **Union between England and Scotland, 1707.**— The failure of the Darien scheme had made the Lowlanders of Scotland resolve to obtain either a complete commercial equality with the English or a separation from England. But the English merchants were tenacious of their trade privileges, and the English Tories were averse to any further recognition of Scottish Presbyterianism. The breach

between the two countries accordingly widened. In 1703, the Scottish Estates enacted that Scotland was not to be involved in any war begun by England without their consent. In 1704, Anne was compelled to assent to an *Act of Security*, which empowered the Estates of Scotland to decide who should succeed the Queen in Scotland without regard to the *Act of Settlement* for England and Ireland. The English Parliament retaliated by an *Alien Act*, declaring Scotsmen to be aliens, prohibiting imports from Scotland, and providing for the repair of the Border fortresses. The danger of war between the two countries now made moderate men anxious to come to some agreement.

In 1706, commissioners of both countries, under the guidance of Godolphin and Somers, quickly arranged terms which were accepted by their respective Parliaments. The *Act of Union* came into force in 1707. It achieved a close but not a complete union of the two nations as one kingdom, under the title of "the United Kingdom of Britain." The two Parliaments were combined into a single British Parliament. Scotland was to be represented by forty-five members in the Commons and by sixteen peers, elected for each Parliament, in the House of Lords. Each kingdom retained its Established Church, its own law and its law-courts. The two countries were placed upon an exactly equal footing in respect to trade. And England undertook to pay off the Scottish National Debt and to indemnify the shareholders in the Darien Scheme, on condition that Scotland should in future take her share in the financial burdens of the United Kingdom.

§ 212. **Continuation of the War, 1707–1710.**—In the year 1707 the allies were expelled from Madrid, and severely defeated at Almanza. But in the following year they were again successful. Byng drove back the French

fleet, which was conveying the Chevalier de St. George—"James III."—to Scotland, Stanhope and Leake captured Minorca, and Marlborough, with his brilliant colleague, Prince Eugene of Savoy, won a great victory at Oudenarde, which was followed by the capture of the French fortress of Lille. Once again Louis offered peace, but the terms of the allies were impossible. To obtain support for the war, Marlborough and Godolphin had been compelled to form a purely Whig Ministry, for the Tories were of the opinion that a further struggle was both unnecessary and unwise, and the Whigs insisted that Louis should himself help to expel his grandson from Spain. But the French King preferred to make an appeal to the national feeling of his people.

His efforts produced an immediate effect. In 1709, Marlborough and Eugene could do nothing except capture such fortresses as Tournay and Mons, and win the disastrous battle of Malplaquet, in which the English, though victorious, lost 20,000 men; the French, though defeated, only half as many. In the meantime, Galway had been vanquished in Spain. Yet the allies again refused the favourable terms offered by Louis at Gertruydenburg. Though he still declined to bear arms against his grandson, he now offered the allies money to aid them in expelling Philip V. from Spain. More than that could hardly be expected of him. In the following year, Marlborough took Douay; and the Archduke Charles advanced on Madrid and gained some successes. But he was compelled to retreat, being severely defeated at Brihuega in 1710.

Events in England were by this time hastening the close of the war. Robert Harley, one of the moderate Tories, had been skilfully undermining the influence of the Duchess of Marlborough with Anne by substituting that of his relative, Mrs. Masham. In 1710, moreover, the Whigs themselves put a weapon in the hands of their enemies by

unwisely impeaching Dr. Henry Sacheverell for a sermon against the Protestant Succession. Anne took advantage of their subsequent unpopularity to dismiss the Whigs and to replace them by a purely Tory ministry. It included Harley (shortly afterwards created Earl of Oxford), St. John, Rochester, and Ormonde.

§ 213. **The Tories and the Peace of Utrecht.**—Before they had been in office a year, the Tories were able to plead political necessity for the peace which they desired. The Emperor Joseph I. died, and was succeeded, both in his hereditary dominions and in the elective dignity of Emperor, by his brother, the Archduke Charles of Austria. To add Spain to the Imperial dominions was clearly more dangerous than to leave the Bourbon in possession; especially as the birth of an heir to Philip V.'s elder brother had recently removed the Spanish King a step further from the French Crown. The Ministry accordingly began negotiations with France, and, at the close of the year 1711, removed the chief obstacle to peace by persuading the Queen to dismiss Marlborough from his offices. But the House of Lords being mainly Whig, the peace was still in danger of rejection. Queen Anne accordingly obtained the assent of the Upper House by creating twelve Tory peers to outvote the Whigs.

By the resulting *Treaty of Utrecht*, Great Britain agreed to recognise Philip V. as King of Spain on condition that France recognised the Protestant succession in England, that the French and Spanish Crowns should never be united, and that Louis would allow the Netherlands and the Italian dominions of Spain to go to the Emperor, and Sicily to Savoy. France abandoned to Great Britain Acadie (Nova Scotia), Newfoundland, and Rupertsland (Hudson Bay territory); while Spain ceded Gibraltar and Minorca, and conceded some commercial privileges in South America.

§ 214. **Tory Policy and the Succession Question, 1711–1714.**—The Tories, being desirous of extirpating dissent, and of strengthening their own power, passed two Acts against the Protestant Nonconformists. The *Occasional Conformity Act* inflicted heavy penalties on all who took the communion in conformity with the rites of the Church of England simply for the purpose of qualifying for public service. The *Schism Act* forbade any but Anglicans to keep schools. By the former, the Tories hoped to keep Dissenters out of municipal offices; by the latter they intended to ensure as many children as possible being brought up in the Anglican Church.

But the attention of the Tories was soon withdrawn from the Nonconformists by a more urgent issue. The ill-health of the Queen, and the question of a successor, were beginning to occupy all thoughts. The Tories, unluckily for themselves, were divided. Some favoured Protestantism and some hereditary succession. Thus Oxford was inclined to favour the Hanoverian Succession, and St. John, now Viscount Bolingbroke, was a Jacobite. Before the latter could take any decisive steps to secure his position the Queen died. In international politics, the history of her reign had been brilliant. England had taken a leading position in Europe, won dazzling victories, and led the Grand Alliance to the overthrow of France. The fact that the war was carried on too long, robbed it of some of its splendour and success, but could not render it otherwise than glorious.

In domestic politics one great achievement, the *Act of Union* with Scotland, shed lustre on the reign. And, as for Anne herself, her piety, her patriotism, and her sense of duty, won her the love and the respect of her people. She was neither a brilliant nor a famous woman, but she deserved her title of "Good Queen Anne."

Chronology of Chief Events.

1702. War of the Spanish Succession.
1702. Defeat of Admiral Benbow in the West Indies.
1702–10. Marlborough-Godolphin Ministry.
1703. Methuen Treaty.
1704. Battle of Blenheim.
1704. Queen Anne's Bounty.
1704. Capture of Gibraltar.
1704. Scottish Act of Security and Alien Act.
1705. Capture of Barcelona by Peterborough.
1706. Battle of Ramillies.
1706. Occupation of Madrid.
1706. Occupation of Brussels.
1706. Negotiations for Peace rejected.
1706. Hapsburg secures Naples and Milan.
1707. Act of Union.
1707. Allies expelled from Madrid.
1707. Allies defeated at Almanza.
1708. Battle of Oudenarde.
1708. Capture of Sardinia and Minorca.
1709. Battle of Malplaquet.
1710. Sacheverell's impeachment.
1710. Tory Ministry.
1711. Occasional Conformity Act.
1711. Dismissal of Marlborough.
1711. Property Qualification Act.
1711. Creation of Peers.
1713. Treaty of Utrecht.
1714. Schism Act.

Genealogy of the House of Hanover.

JAMES I.
(1603–1625)
|
Elizabeth
m. Frederick, Elector Palatine
|
Sophia
m. Ernest Augustus, Elector of Hanover,
d. 1714
|
GEORGE I.
(1714–1727)
|
GEORGE II.
(1727–1760)
|
Frederick Louis,
Prince of Wales,
|
GEORGE III.
(1760–1820)
|
GEORGE IV. (1820–1830) | WILLIAM IV. (1830–1837) | Edward, Duke of Kent, m. Victoria Mary Louis of Saxe-Coburg
|
VICTORIA
(1837–1901)

CHAPTER XX.

George I., 1714–1727.

Eldest son of Ernest Augustus, Duke of Brunswick Lüneburg and first Elector of Hanover (in right of his wife Sophia, granddaughter of James I. of England); born 1660; married his cousin Sophia Dorothea of Zell, 1682; succeeded his father as Elector of Hanover, 1698; died 1727.

CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

PAPACY.	EMPIRE.	PRUSSIA.	FRANCE.	SPAIN.	SWEDEN.	RUSSIA.
Clement XI. (1700) Innocent XIII. (1721) Benedict XIII. (1724–1730)	Charles VI. (1711)	Frederick I. (1701) Frederick William I. (1713–1740)	Louis XIV. (1643) Louis XV. (1715–1774)	Philip V. (1700–1746) Louis I. (1724–5)	Charles XII. (1697) Frederick I. 1718–(1751)	Peter the Great (1689) Katherine I. (1725–1727)

§ 215. **Character and Position of the New King, 1714.**—The new King was the grandson of Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of James I., and wife of that Elector Palatine whose wars James had so reluctantly supported in 1620. The English never liked their foreign King. He could not speak a word of English, and he was commonplace and singularly uninteresting. They were blind to the honesty, the common-sense, the business ability, and the insight into character which made him no unworthy ruler of England. They remembered only that he was a stranger and that his heart was in Hanover. But George had the support of the able, wealthy, and energetic Whig party, who remained in power for nearly fifty years. Before

George's accession the Whigs had identified the opposition to him with Roman Catholicism; they now persuaded the King that Toryism was identical with Jacobitism.

§ 216. **The Whigs and the Riot Act, 1715.**—George, of necessity, chose his ministers from his supporters, the Whigs. The most important among them were the Secretaries of State, Viscount Townshend and James Stanhope, the conqueror of Minorca. Room was also found for Sunderland and Walpole. The first act of the new ministry was to impeach the leading members of the late administration for their connection with the peace negotiations, and their alleged attempt "to bring in the Pretender." Bolingbroke and Ormonde left the country, and were attainted in their absence. Oxford, who remained to face impeachment, was ultimately acquitted. In the meantime, serious Jacobite disturbances compelled the Whigs to pass the *Riot Act.* This Act made it felony for a crowd (twelve persons or more) to remain together for more than an hour after a magistrate had ordered them to disperse.

§ 217. **"The Fifteen," and the Septennial Act, 1715–1716.**—Immediately after the death of Anne a well-organised Jacobite rising might have been successful. But no attempt was made until George I. had been on the throne nearly a year, and until Louis XIV., who was likely to be its most able supporter, was dead. The rising, known as "The Fifteen," from the year in which it took place, was not only ill-timed; it was also ill-organised. Ormonde's invasion of Devonshire was ineffectual, and the only serious movements took place in the north. The Earl of Mar raised the Stuart standard at Braemar, the Scottish peers prepared to support him, and many Highland clans rallied round him. He sent Lords Nithsdale and Kenmuir, who commanded the rebels of the Lowlands, into England to support Forster and Lord Derwentwater, who were at the head

of the Northumbrian Jacobites. The united army marched southwards, and was compelled to surrender at Preston. On the same day Mar fought an indecisive battle with Argyll, the head of the Scottish Whigs, at Sheriffmuir. "James III." landed too late, and soon returned to France. A number of the rebels were executed; and, to make further attempts more difficult, the Government disarmed some of the Highlanders, built a few forts, and opened up the country by constructing roads through the Highlands.

The most important result of the Jacobite rising was the passing of the *Septennial Act.* In accordance with the provisions of the Third *Triennial Act*, the elections for a new Parliament were due in the spring of 1718. But the Government felt that the Hanoverian succession would not be safe if the elections were to take place while the country was still unsettled. They therefore prolonged the possible legal duration of the existing and all future Parliaments from three to seven years.

§ 218. **Foreign Policy of the Reign.** — The foreign policy of George was always watched with suspicion by the English, who feared that he would lead them into a war for the benefit of Hanover. But, on the whole, the interests of Hanover and England coincided. To both it was important that the settlement arranged by the Treaty of Utrecht should be maintained. Philip V. of Spain, however, was determined to recover the Spanish dominions in Italy, and to this end he secured the alliance of the King of Sweden, who had a quarrel with George about Hanover. To the alliance of Sweden and Spain, England opposed the *Triple Alliance* between Great Britain, Holland and France. On the death of Louis XIV., Louis XV., who was a minor, had succeeded to the throne of France. If he had no children Philip V. of Spain was the next heir, and after him the Regent of France, the Duke of Orleans. To

exclude the King of Spain from the succession by maintaining the Treaty of Utrecht was even more important to the Regent than to England and to Holland. Hence the unexpected union of old enemies.

The Whig party divided over the question of foreign policy. Stanhope, the victorious general of the Grand Alliance, and Sunderland, the son-in-law of Marlborough, believed that a spirited foreign policy was the best security for the Protestant succession in England. Townshend, and his brother-in-law Walpole, thought that the maintenance of peace, and the development of commerce, would do more than anything else to eradicate Jacobitism. Townshend and Walpole had to resign because they would not support Stanhope's foreign policy, and their resignation marks another advance in the development of party government. It was no longer enough that the ministers should belong to one party; if their joint action were to be effective they must also act in harmony.

In 1717, Spanish forces occupied Sardinia and began to attack Sicily. But their success was cut short by Byng, who destroyed the Spanish fleet off Cape Passaro, in the following year. A little later Spain lost her only ally, Sweden, by the death of Charles XII.; a Spanish attempt to arouse a fresh Jacobite insurrection was defeated on the West Coast of Scotland (1719); and the Emperor joined the Triple Alliance, which was now called the *Quadruple Alliance*. Spain was then ready to come to terms. Alberoni, Philip V.'s warlike minister, was dismissed; and Philip acknowledged the Protestant succession in England and the Utrecht partition of the Spanish dominions. For the moment Europe was at peace. But before the death of George fresh dangers were threatening. The Emperor made an alliance with Spain in the *First Treaty of Vienna*, with the object of wresting Gibraltar from the British,

and England replied by an alliance with France and Prussia in the *Treaty of Hanover*. The new contest proved fruitless. Spain failed in the siege of Gibraltar, and her opponents in an attack on Porto Bello.[1] Walpole, now again in power, made unwearied efforts for peace, and, before the death of George I., all the enemies of Great Britain had agreed to accept the terms of the *Treaty of Hanover*.

§ 219. **Home Policy, and Close of the Reign.**—Stanhope repealed the *Occasional Conformity Act* and the *Schism Act*, for the benefit of the faithful supporters of his party, the Dissenters, but he was less successful with his other measures. The *Peerage Bill*, introduced by Sunderland in 1719, was rejected by the House of Commons. Its object was to prevent a repetition of the tactics by which Queen Anne had secured a majority in the House of Lords for the *Peace of Utrecht*. It would have made the House of Lords unassailable. It was lost mainly through the influence of the opposition in the Whig party, headed by Walpole. The financial measure on which the Stanhope-Sunderland administration embarked in the same year was not merely a failure; it was disastrous. The Government, hoping to obtain a large premium, and to effect a great saving in annual interest, sold the National Debt to the South Sea Company in 1720. The speculations of the South Sea Company led to many other wild enterprises, and the result was a financial crisis, which Walpole was called upon to end.

The failure of the South Sea Bubble ruined the Stanhope-Sunderland ministry. They were replaced by the opposition branch of the Whig party. Walpole was made First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer; Townshend and Carteret, Secretaries of State.

[1] The chief Spanish town on the isthmus of Panama.

George I. recognised the talent of Walpole and gave him a well-deserved confidence.

During the reign of George I. Ireland became more dependent upon England. In 1719, the English Parliament passed a *Declaratory Act*, asserting its right to make laws for Ireland over the head of the Irish Parliament. In 1727, George I. died. Far from admirable in his private life, he yet deserves respect for his straightforwardness of character, his personal courage and his unflinching performance of his public duties.

Chronology of Chief Events.

1715. Riot Act.
1715. Jacobite Rising.
1716. Septennial Act.
1717. The Triple Alliance.
1718. Sir George Byng destroys the Spanish Fleet off Passaro.
1718. Quadruple Alliance.
1719. Repeal of Occasional Conformity Act, and Schism Act.
1720. South Sea Bubble.
1721. Beginning of Walpole's Administration.
1722. Atterbury's Jacobite Plot.
1725. First Treaty of Vienna.
1725. Treaty of Hanover.

CHAPTER XXI.

George II., Walpole and the Pelhams, 1727–1754.

Born 1683; married Caroline Wilhelmina of Anspach, 1705; died 1760.

CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

PAPACY.	EMPIRE.	PRUSSIA.	FRANCE.	SPAIN.	POLAND.	RUSSIA.
Benedict XIII. (1724)	Charles VI. (1711–1740)	Frederick William I. (1713)	Louis XV. (1715–1774)	Philip V. (1700)	August II. (1697–1704, 1709–1733)	Peter II. (1727)
Clement XII. (1730)	Maria Theresa Qu. Hung. and Bohemia (1740–1780)	Frederick II. *the Great* (1740–1786)		Ferdinand VI. (1746)	August III. (1733–1763)	Anna (1730)
Benedict XIV. (1740)	Charles VII. Wittelsbach (1742-5)					Ivan VI. (1740)
	Francis I. (1745–1765)			Charles III. (1759–1788)		Elizabeth (1741–1762)
Clement XIII. (1758–1769)						

§ 220. **Accession of George II. and the Administration of Walpole, 1727–1733.**—The enemies of Walpole hoped that the accession of the new King would destroy his power. George II. had never been on good terms with his father, and he had consistently opposed the policy of George I. It was to be expected therefore that he would dismiss his father's minister. But the King, who was unable to find a minister to succeed Walpole, listened to the representations of the Queen and retained him in office. Walpole's ruling motive was a "passion for peace," and his favourite motto "Let sleeping dogs lie." Though he desired to

increase his popularity with the Dissenters, and to reward these faithful supporters of the Government, he knew better than to attempt to repeal the penal legislation against them. Instead, he began the practice of passing an *Indemnity Act*, whereby, without friction, the Dissenters were annually relieved from any penalties they might have incurred through holding municipal offices contrary to the terms of the *Test Act* and *Corporation Act*. Above all, Walpole was a finance minister. He re-arranged the customs duties so as to encourage both the import of raw materials and the export of manufactured goods. But the greatest of his financial schemes failed. By his *Excise Bill* he had proposed to levy taxes on wine and tobacco as an *excise*, collected shortly before they were distributed to consumers, instead of as *customs*, collected when the goods were imported. The change would have checked smuggling by making it less profitable, enriched the Exchequer, and cheapened wine and tobacco for the benefit of the consumer. But the measure was denounced as inquisitorial, and as a mere party trick to gain support. So loud was the outcry against it that Walpole withdrew it rather than, as he said, "raise taxes at the price of blood."

§ 221. **Foreign Policy of Walpole, 1727–1742.**—At the end of George I.'s reign Walpole had been able to secure the peace of Europe by the aid of France. Unfortunately for his policy, circumstances rendered a similar understanding impossible soon after the accession of George II. A son was born to Louis XV. in 1729; Philip V. of Spain was consequently no longer heir to the throne of France, the jealousies between the two branches of the House of Bourbon were at an end, and an alliance between them, which would be fatal to Walpole's peace policy, was once more probable. Walpole was able to keep England out of the War of the Polish Election, which broke out between the Bourbons and

Hapsburgs in 1733; but France and Spain nevertheless, fearing British intervention, made the *First Bourbon Family Compact*. Though England, despite the efforts of Walpole, was drifting into war with Spain, a short period of peace followed. The English traders meanwhile, disregarding the commercial restrictions of the Treaty of Utrecht, persisted in introducing contraband goods into Spanish America. The Spaniards punished smuggling in the West Indies with great cruelty, and the English clamoured for revenge. One trader in particular, named Jenkin, by declaring that when deprived of an ear by the Spaniards he had "commended his cause to his country," appealed forcibly to public sentiment.

Walpole hoped to obtain redress by negotiations, but the merchants and the opposition in Parliament insisted on war. It was declared in 1739, lasted for nearly nine years, and was almost wholly uneventful. Admiral Vernon took Porto Bello, but failed later to capture Carthagena (1741), and though Commodore Anson, in the course of a four years' voyage round the world, plundered various Spanish vessels and towns in South America, nothing decisive was done. After 1740, the "colony" war was gradually superseded in interest by the "War of the Austrian Succession." This was a renewal of the old conflict between the Hapsburgs and the Bourbons. When the Emperor Charles VI. died, Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria, disputed the claim of the Emperor's elder daughter, Maria Theresa, to succeed her father in his dominions. France aided the Elector by subsidies, Spain by attacking Austria in Italy, and Frederick of Prussia by seizing Silesia. Great Britain, under Walpole's rule, confined herself to subsidising Maria Theresa, and to mediating between her and Prussia.[1] But Walpole was opposed by a

[1] Maria Theresa agreed to buy off Frederick by ceding Silesia.

vigorous war-party, and was finally driven from office in 1742.

§ 222. **Causes of the Fall of Walpole and an Estimate of his Administration.**—Walpole was accused of corruption and self-interest, and his political aims were condemned as erroneous. But his policy was at least more successful than that of the men who followed him, and his methods were not more corrupt. The true causes of his fall are to be sought outside the accusations which were brought against him. He was discredited by the defeat of his Excise Bill; still more by the failure of the war on which he had so unwillingly embarked, and for the conduct of which he showed no capacity. In 1737, his power over the King and his political influence had been seriously impaired by the death of the Queen, who had skilfully ruled her husband by making Walpole's suggestions appear to George to be his own. About the same time the opposition had been greatly strengthened by the support of Frederick, Prince of Wales, who, in quarrelling with his father, followed the traditions of the House of Hanover. The influence of Bolingbroke, though he was unable to exercise it in Parliament, for he had been excluded from the House of Lords on his return from exile, was, moreover, great with all sections of the Opposition. In the *Idea of a Patriot King* he supplied the Tory party with a new theory of government. Instead of accepting the Whig Oligarchy and relying on a corrupt Parliament, he suggested that the King should govern in person, choosing his ministers from either party. The Opposition, headed by Bolingbroke, had wrecked the *Excise Bill*, and it also forced upon Walpole the war which was the final cause of his fall. Walpole was to blame for not resigning at once, instead of conducting a war of which he disapproved, and for which he had not the necessary military knowledge, but his peace policy was nevertheless triumph-

antly justified by the fact that departure from it immediately produced a renewal of Jacobite intrigues. The rule of Walpole has been described as "the Rule of Common-Sense;" and of the excellence of his financial policy there can be no doubt. He is said to have "found our tariff the worst in the world" and to have "left it the best."

§ 223. **The Administration of Carteret, 1742–1744.**—The fall of Walpole illustrates several important differences between the constitutional practices of his day and of our own; at present, a constitutional custom or convention insists that a Ministry which has been out-voted in the House of Commons shall either "dissolve Parliament" and "appeal to the country," or resign. Walpole resigned after his parliamentary defeat, not as a matter of course, but because he chose to do so; and his resignation did not involve the resignation of the entire Ministry. Most of his colleagues remained in office. Lord Carteret, as Secretary of State, became the most important member of the administration. His knowledge of German not only made him acceptable to the King, but gave him an unusual grasp of the European situation. He was anxious to do all he could to help Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary, against her enemies. British subsidies accordingly enabled her to carry on war successfully against her Bavarian rival, who had been elected Emperor (Charles VII.) in 1742, and, in 1743, George II., in person, led an army of British and Hanoverian troops southwards, and at Dettingen-on-Main defeated the Franco-Bavarian army.

But Carteret's policy was neither understood nor appreciated. His enemies denounced his aims as "Hanoverian," and William Pitt accused him of thinking of nothing but a "despicable German Electorate." In 1743, Carteret achieved his last diplomatic success, by securing the friendship of Sardinia for Maria Theresa in the *Treaty of Worms*.

France and Spain replied by a *Second Family Compact*, and, in the following year, France declared war on England. In the meantime, Carteret's chief rivals, the two Pelhams (Thomas, Duke of Newcastle, and his brother Henry), succeeded in ousting him from office. Their intention was to fight the French in the southern Netherlands instead of in Germany; but they were far from successful there. Shortly after they had lost the battle of Fontenoy, the British troops had to be withdrawn from the continent to meet a danger nearer home.

§ 224. **The "Forty-Five," 1745.**—The Jacobite insurrection, which Walpole had feared, had come to pass. Charles Edward, "the Young Pretender," landed on the west coast of Scotland. He came without his father's sanction, and without French aid, trusting to his own daring and to his personal attractions. He gathered the principal Highland chieftains round him, moved rapidly south, occupied Perth and Edinburgh, and defeated the English under Cope at Prestonpans. He then invaded England, marching through Carlisle, Preston and Lancaster, to Derby. Not receiving the support he expected, he listened to the advice of his counsellors, and ordered a retreat. On his way back to Scotland he won two minor successes, one near Penrith, and another at Falkirk. But in the meantime the English general, Cumberland, was learning by experience how to deal with the Highland charge; and when he met the forces of the rebels on Culloden Moor, near Inverness, he won a decisive victory (April 1746). Charles, after hairbreadth escapes and adventurous wanderings in the Highlands and western isles of Scotland, was at length enabled by the loyalty of the clans, and the help of Flora Macdonald, the daughter of a Highland chief, to reach France. The insurrection was punished by the English Government with great severity.

§ 225. **The Policy of the Pelhams, 1744–1754.**—In the meantime the Pelhams and George II. had come into conflict. The Pelhams wished to introduce Pitt into the Ministry, and, to coerce the King, resigned office. George invited William Pulteney, Earl of Bath, and Carteret (now Lord Granville) to form an administration, but they could get few politicians to join them. Within three days the Pelhams returned to power, bringing Pitt with them. By this time the question of the Austrian succession was finally decided by the accession of Maria Theresa's husband to the Imperial throne, on the death of the Emperor, Charles VII. But France and Spain still continued their alliance against Great Britain and Austria, and between 1745 and 1748 the French were generally victorious on land, and the English at sea. France secured the Austrian Netherlands, while the English almost destroyed one French fleet off Cape Finisterre, and another off Ushant (1747). The contest was brought to a temporary close by the inconclusive *Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle*, which arranged that Great Britain and France should abandon their various conquests in the Netherlands, in North America, and in India. The wars of 1739 to 1748 were merely preliminary to the far greater struggle of the Seven Years' War.

In home politics, the Pelham Ministry earned distinction by passing the *Calendar Act*. The Julian Calendar, by which the English calculated, had made too liberal an allowance of leap years, and their reckoning was consequently eleven days behind the true solar time. The error had been rectified by Pope Gregory XIII. as early as 1582, but the Popish origin of the correction had hitherto been sufficient to keep the English from accepting it. They now adopted the Gregorian Calendar, and put their reckoning on the same footing as that of the continental States of

Europe, by counting the day which in the "old style" would have been September 3, 1752, as September 14; and from 1753 January 1, instead of March 25, was considered the beginning of the year. In March, 1754, Henry Pelham died, and his less capable brother, the Duke of Newcastle, took his place as Prime Minister. Thereupon George II. prophetically exclaimed, "Now I shall have no more peace."

Chronology of Chief Events.

1727. Indemnity Act.
1731. Second Treaty of Vienna.
1733. Failure of Excise Bill.
1733. Polish Succession Question.
1733. First Bourbon Family Compact.
1735–8. Third Treaty of Vienna.
1737. Death of Queen Caroline.
1739. Methodist and Wesleyan Movement.
1739–48. War of Jenkin's Ear.
1739. Porto Bello taken.
1740–44. Commodore Anson sails round the world.
1740–43. War of Austrian Succession.
1742. Resignation of Walpole.
1743. Battle of Dettingen.
1743. Treaty of Worms.
1743. Second Family Compact.
1744. War with France.
1745. Defeat at Fontenoy.
1745. The Forty-Five.
1745. Battle of Prestonpans.
1746. Battle of Culloden Moor.
1747. Naval Battle off Finisterre.
1748. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.
1751. Death of Frederick, Prince of Wales.
1751. Calendar Act.
1754. Death of Henry Pelham.

BOOK VIII.

The Making and Re-making of Empire, 1754–1793.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 226. **Retrospect, 1688–1754.**—The half-century following the Protestant Revolution of 1688 was occupied with maintaining the Protestant succession in England. This task involved the legislative union of the Protestant kingdoms of England and Scotland, the subjection of Roman Catholic Ireland, the fighting of three great wars against France and Spain, the development of a system of party government, and the toleration of non-Episcopalian forms of Church government. To reward the ecclesiastical parties who supported them, the Revolutionists recognised the Presbyterian Church as the Church of Scotland, and tolerated Protestant Nonconformists in England. During this period the internal and constitutional history of the three kingdoms was more important than either the foreign or the colonial; but the interest of the next period is international and imperial rather than domestic.

§ 227. **The Seven Years' War, 1756–1763.**—When Henry Pelham died Great Britain was nominally at peace. But, in point of fact, private wars were going on in North America and India, which formed part later of a struggle involving all the great powers of Europe. The Seven Years' War was both more definite in its object and more decisive in its results than the War of the Austrian Succession which preceded it. The difference was largely due to the

combined policy of William Pitt and Frederick II. of Prussia, both of whom were clear-sighted, able, and determined men. In the Seven Years' War Great Britain was allied with Prussia against France, Austria, and Russia. Prussia was fighting to secure a position on the Continent, England to win a colonial empire; and the war had consequently two centres of interest. France elected to throw her whole strength into the struggle between Austria and Prussia. As a result she so weakened herself in her own contest with Great Britain, that she lost the remainder of her possessions in North America, and was reduced to political impotence in India.

§ 228. **George III.'s Constitutional Experiments, 1760–1770.**—During the course of the Seven Years' War George II. died, and was succeeded by his grandson, George III. The new King wanted to restore the monarchy to the powerful position which he believed to be its rightful place in the Constitution, and in his desire to assert what he held to be his rights, he overlooked the first duty of a king—good government. He spent the first ten years of his reign seeking for a minister who would subordinate himself to the royal will, and in the course of his search sacrificed many of the gains made in the Seven Years' War, and stooped to the political methods of his rivals, the heads of the Whig Oligarchy. With the establishment of Lord North as chief minister, in 1770, his object was attained.

§ 229. **The American Revolution, 1765–1783.**—North's long ministry saw the disastrous war of the American Revolution. A series of attempts—reasonable in intention, but unwise in method—to tax the American colonists was met by protests on constitutional grounds, by riots, and finally by an armed resistance. The colonists, ignoring their mutual jealousies for the time being, united in

declaring themselves independent (1776); and a year later won so conspicuous a success at Saratoga, that France thought it safe to enter into an alliance with them. In 1781 the Americans, by a decisive victory at Yorktown, practically secured their independence. The American Revolution gave the Irish Parliament a chance of asserting its legislative independence of the Parliament of Great Britain; it indirectly involved Warren Hastings, the first British Governor-General in India, in difficulties from which nothing but his genius could have extricated the East India Company; and it brought about the fall of Lord North, and the temporary overthrow of the political system of George III.

§ 230. **Pitt's Years of Peace, 1783–1793.**—The success of the American Revolution reduced the fortunes of Great Britain to their lowest ebb. But France and Spain were even more exhausted by the struggle than their enemy. Great Britain, moreover, under the guidance of Pitt, made an earlier recovery than her continental rivals. During the latter half of the century a revolution in the methods of industry greatly increased her material resources; and Pitt, in his ten years of peace, used these resources to revive the power of the Executive, to restore national credit, and to achieve a number of important reforms. He thus prepared Great Britain for the strain of the great war in which the outbreak of the French Revolution and the rise of Napoleon involved her at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Seven Years' War and George III.'s Constitutional Experiments, 1756–1770.

George II. See previous chapter.
George III., eldest son of Frederick Louis, Prince of Wales; born 1738 married Charlotte Sophia of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, 1761; died 1820.

CONTEMPORARY RULERS (to 1789).

PAPACY.	EMPIRE.	PRUSSIA.	FRANCE.	SPAIN.	POLAND.	RUSSIA.
Clement XIII. (1758)	Francis I. (1745)	Frederick II. (1740)	Louis XV. (1715)	Charles III. (1759)	Augustus III. (1733–1763)	Elizabeth (1741)
Clement XIV. (1769)	Joseph II. (1765–1790)	Frederick William II. (1786–1797)	Louis XVI. (1774–1792)	Charles IV. (1788–1808)	Stanislaus Augustus (1764–1795) Partitions (1772–1795)	Peter III. (1762) Katherine II. (1762–1796)
Pius VI. (1775–1800)						

The Seven Years' War.

§ 231. **The Relations between France and England in India, 1600 1757.** — During the seventeenth century, Portuguese, English, Dutch, and French merchant companies had all obtained a foothold in India for purposes of trade, and there had been much competition between the companies of the four nations. The English were also weakened by the competition among different English companies until the rival traders were combined in the United East India Company, 1708. At that time the Company possessed small territories at Madras and at Bombay, and

factories or trading-stations at Calcutta and other places. The French had stations at Mahé on the Malabar coast, at Pondicherry on the Coromandel coast, and at Chandernagore on the Hugli. During the "War of the Austrian Succession," Dupleix, the Governor of Pondicherry, resolved to expel the British merchants, and to establish the French Company as a political power in India. The opportunity was favourable. Since the death of Aurangzeb, the last of the great Mogul Emperors, in 1707, the smaller States in the Deccan had become practically independent, and Dupleix anticipated no serious or united resistance from them. Aided by a French fleet, he captured Madras, and had no difficulty in defeating the Nizám of the Deccan, who claimed a share of the booty, and in whose territories Madras lay.

Dupleix next used his influence to settle disputed successions among the native princes. Thereupon the English in India, alarmed by the growing power of the French, determined to interfere. Robert Clive, a young clerk in the service of the East India Company, surprised and held Arcot in 1751. A few years' desultory fighting followed. In 1755, however, the Companies were compelled by their Home Governments to make peace, and to promise not to take part in the quarrels of the native princes. But before very long the English were engaged in a fresh contest. A new Nawáb of Bengal, Sirajuaddaula, quarrelled with the British merchants in his dominions, captured Calcutta, and imprisoned one hundred and forty-six captives in a small room, ever since known as the *Black Hole of Calcutta*. One hundred and twenty-three of his prisoners died in a single night. The Madras Government sent Clive to revenge the victims. The Nawáb was defeated in a battle at Plassey in 1757, deposed and superseded by a Nawáb chosen by the Company. This victory freed the English in India from their embarrassments in Bengal before the

French were in a position to renew their struggle in the South ; and also increased their resources for the coming contest.

§ 232. **England and France in North America, 1600-1750.**—During the earlier part of the seventeenth century, English colonies had been established in New England (Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island), and further south in Virginia and Maryland ; Dutch colonies in the Hudson valley ; and French colonies in the St. Lawrence valley (Canada and Acadie). In the reign of Charles II., the Carolinas had been founded, and the Dutch possessions between New England and Virginia had been captured by England, and formed into the colonies of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, French explorers had discovered the Mississippi, and established at its mouth a colony named Louisiana, in honour of Louis XIV. In 1713, the English acquired the larger part of Nova Scotia, at the expense of France, and in 1733, Georgia, at the expense of Spain. The extensions of the English had all been along the coast. France claimed the hinterlands, and about 1750 began to build forts in the Ohio Valley.

The English colonists were alarmed by these attempts to shut them in between the Alleghanies and the sea ; and George Washington, a young Virginian, not only remonstrated in person with Duquesne, the Governor of Canada, but, finding peaceful methods unavailing, attempted to seize the fort which Duquesne had built on the river Ohio. The British Government sent out General Braddock, who was defeated and slain in making a similar attempt, and Admiral Boscawen commanding the British Channel fleet was given instructions to intercept French reinforcements for Canada. Though he failed to execute his orders, the admiral seized French merchantmen, and brought the

colonial rivalry of the two nations to the verge of open war.

§ 233. **Opening of the Seven Years' War, 1756.**—A French attack on Hanover also seemed to be imminent. George II. wanted to meet it by an alliance with Austria. But Austria did not respond. Various subsidy treaties were, however, arranged with German princes, with Russia, and with Prussia for the defence of Hanover. France and Austria, in reply, formed the "First" *Treaty of Versailles*, whereby Louis XV. undertook to help Maria Theresa to wrest Silesia from Frederic the Great. The Seven Years' War opened in 1756 with the capture of Minorca by the French in June, and the invasion of Saxony by Frederick II. in August. It was fought out mainly in and about the dominions of the King of Prussia, in North America, in India, and at sea. In Europe, Frederick the Great held out against overwhelming odds, being attacked at once by Austria and Russia, who were helped by France, Saxony, and Sweden. Outside Europe, the contest lay between France and England. The European struggle was valued by the English only because it helped to divert the attention of France from America and Asia until she had been hopelessly defeated in those regions. At first, Britain, being ill-prepared for war, fared badly. Newcastle resigned, and was replaced by the Duke of Devonshire and William Pitt. The new Ministry attained no immediate success. It was not even strong enough to save Admiral Byng from being shot for his failure to relieve Minorca. The King re-called Newcastle, and Newcastle took Pitt into partnership. Under Pitt, the Whig Oligarchy was destined to reach its highest pitch of power, and to perform its greatest services to the nation.

§ 234. **Further Course of the War, 1757–1761.**—The ill-fortune of Great Britain continued for some months. In America the French took Fort William Henry. In Germany

the Duke of Cumberland was defeated by the armies of France at Hastenbach, and compelled to promise to evacuate Hanover by the *Convention of Klosterseven* (1757). But Pitt repudiated the Convention, induced Parliament to grant Frederick a large subsidy, and secured a competent commander from Frederick in the person of Ferdinand of Brunswick. Pitt supported Prussia merely in order to "win America on the fields of Germany." In 1758 the British were almost uniformly successful on the other side of the Atlantic. They captured Louisberg, Fort Frontenac (now Kingston), and Fort Duquesne. This last was aptly re-named Fort Pitt (now Pittsburg). But the following year was the year of Pitt's greatest triumphs. In Europe, Ferdinand, by winning the battle of Minden, swept the French out of Hanover, and Boscawen inflicted a crushing defeat on the French fleet off Lagos, in Portugal. At sea Hawke almost annihilated the Brest fleet off Quiberon ; and in Canada Wolfe, after three months of vain effort, devised a plan whereby he was enabled to take Quebec. He scaled the Heights of Abraham in the night and, when morning came, defeated Montcalm in a battle which made surrender inevitable. Neither commander lived to see the result. The British conquest of Canada was completed in 1760 by the surrender of Montreal. In the meantime, the French had been successful in India. But in 1758 Lally failed to take Madras which was relieved by the British fleet. The British, having command of the sea, could now draw supplies from Bengal, and Eyre Coote was thus enabled to defeat and capture Lally and Bussy in the decisive battle of Wandiwash. In 1761, Pondicherry fell into the hands of the British, and the possibility of French ascendency in India was at an end.

§ 235. **The Death of George II. and the Peace of Paris, 1760–1763.**—The accession of Charles III. to the

Spanish throne caused a change in foreign politics. It was speedily followed by a renewal of the Bourbon *Family Compact*, 1761 (p. 270). Pitt, realising the danger of this alliance, wished to forestall Spanish attacks on Great Britain by an attack on Spain. But he was over-ruled in the Cabinet and resigned his post. His defeat was a direct consequence of the death of George II. The new King, George III., being eager to bring the war to a close, introduced his former tutor, the Marquess of Bute, into the ministry, and Bute not only opposed Pitt's proposals for war with Spain, but also ceased to subsidise Frederick the Great, who was almost ruined by the desertion of Great Britain. Spain now entered the contest, but too late to change its course.

In 1762, the British fleets captured all the remaining French islands in the West Indies and the Spanish towns of Havana and Manilla. The allied Bourbons were helpless against the maritime supremacy of Great Britain, and all the Powers were weary of war. Austria and Prussia came to an agreement, and France, Spain and England terminated their contest by the *Peace of Paris* in 1763. France was compelled to cede to Great Britain, Canada, Cape Breton Island, Eastern Louisiana, Grenada, Senegal and Minorca, while Spain was obliged to give up Florida. To France, Great Britain restored all her territories in India on condition that they were not to be fortified, and also Goree and Guadeloupe. Belleisle was given up in return for Minorca. To Spain Great Britain returned the islands of Cuba and the Philippines.

§ 236. **Character of George II. and of his Reign.**— The reign of George II. had an importance at once constitutional, colonial and religious. Its constitutional interest belongs to the first part of the reign. With the suppression of the Jacobite rebellion of "Forty-five," the

Whig government had secured the Hanoverian dynasty upon the throne, and finally established the Protestant succession and Parliamentary government in England. The interest of the next fifteen years of the reign was mainly colonial. Before George II. died a series of victories had taken place, which were to prove the first steps in the expansion of England into a great Colonial Empire. The religious interest of the reign lay chiefly in the rise of Methodism. The originators of the movement were a group of Oxford men, who about 1729 formed a small society with the object of leading earnest lives in the service of others. The leaders were the brothers John and Charles Wesley and George Whitefield. Their regular and methodical religious habits earned them the name of "Methodists." In the history of the reign the personality of the King played a comparatively slight part. He had little force of character, and he was never popular with his English subjects. His ungracious manners, his broken English, and his open preference for Hanover made it impossible for them to look on him as an English king; and even his personal courage and unfailing sincerity could not win him their respect.

George III., 1760–1820.

His Constitutional Experiments.

§ 237. **Character and Policy of George III.**—The death of Frederick, Prince of Wales, left his son George as heir to the throne. The new King was, to the delight of the English, entirely British, by birth and by education. He was upright, pious, strictly moral, and to a certain extent able; but exceedingly prejudiced and obstinate. His mother and his tutor, the Marquess of Bute, had constantly impressed upon him that it was his duty "to be a king";

and he hoped to illustrate Bolingbroke's *Patriot King* in his own person, by choosing his own ministers and dictating his own policy. But, for this end, he had to overthrow the party which had domineered over the first two Georges.

§ 238. **The Struggle of George III. with the Whigs, 1760–1770.**—The history of the first ten years of the reign of George III. is a history of his attempts to put down the Whig Oligarchy. With the assistance of Bute he broke up the Pitt-Newcastle administration (pp. 282 and 284). By means of the prestige and patronage of the Crown, he then built up a party to support his own measures in Parliament. It was drawn to some extent from the Whigs, but mainly from the Tories. Its members came to be known as "the King's Friends," and they formed the nucleus of the new Tory party of the future. The administration of Bute did not last long. He had granted the enemy easy terms in the *Peace of Paris*, in order to be free to make changes at home, but he found himself so unpopular in consequence that he hastily resigned in 1763.

At the same time, the prestige of the Government was seriously injured by the methods it adopted for the punishment of the most out-spoken critics of the Ministry, one of whom was John Wilkes, the editor of the *North Briton*. The author, printers and publishers of the paper were arrested by a general warrant. John Wilkes was, however, set at liberty by the judges on the ground that his privilege as a member of Parliament protected him from arrest; and he and his supporters sedulously fostered the public impression that the King and the Parliament were conspiring against the "Rights of the People."

George Grenville succeeded Bute as the head of the Government. His administration is noteworthy for the passing of the *Stamp Act*, the importance of which will

appear later in connection with the history of the American Revolution. He shared the ideas of George as to the relations which should exist between ruler and ruled; but he was not prepared to be the subservient minister that the King desired. The *Regency Bill*, passed in 1765, after the King had suffered from a temporary attack of insanity, gave George particular offence. He resented the slight placed upon his mother by the endeavour to exclude her from the Regency, dismissed Grenville, and put the Whig leader, Rockingham, in his place. The Rockingham administration is chiefly important for the repeal of the *Stamp Act* and the introduction of the able young Irishman, Edmund Burke, to politics. The King having weakened his ministers by secret opposition throughout their term of office, finally dismissed them and called in Pitt. But ill-health was undermining Pitt's power; during his absence through illness, his comrades rashly carried a fresh Bill for the taxation of the American Colonies. In 1768 Pitt retired, and left the Government in the hands of the Duke of Grafton.

The new administration was virulently attacked in the famous letters of the mysterious "Junius"; while, at the same time, Burke was temperately criticising George III.'s theory and practice of Government in his *Thoughts on the Causes of the Present Discontent*. The Ministry was further discredited by a contest with Wilkes, who had been elected as a member for Middlesex in 1768. He was elected three times, and each time rejected by the House of Commons as ineligible, because of previous convictions for unlawful publications. The excitement throughout the country was intense, and the agitation connected with the case is generally held to have marked the birth of modern Radicalism. George took part with his ministers against Wilkes, but he thwarted them in every other respect. In

1770 Grafton resigned and was succeeded by Lord North, and the victory of George over the Whig party was complete.

Chronology of Chief Events.

1756. Black Hole of Calcutta.
1756. Treaties of Westminster and Versailles.
1756. Capture of Minorca by the French.
1756. Beginning of the Seven Years' War.
1756. Resignation of Newcastle.
1756. Devonshire and Pitt in office.
1757. Battle of Plassey.
1757. Pitt-Newcastle Ministry.
1757. Defeat of Hastenbach.
1757. Convention of Klosterseven.
1758. Capture of Louisberg, Fort Frontenac and Fort Duquesne.
1759. Minden, Lagos, Quebec and Quiberon Bay.
1760. Battle of Wandiwash.
1760. Accession of George III.
1761. Third Bourbon Family Compact.
1761. Resignation of Pitt.
1762. War with Spain.
1762. Resignation of Newcastle.
1763. Peace of Paris.
1763. Wilkes arrested.
1763. Grenville's Ministry.
1765. Stamp Act.
1765. Regency Bill.
1765. Rockingham's Ministry.
1766. Stamp Act repealed.
1766. Chatham's Ministry.
1767. American Import Duties.
1768. Grafton's Ministry.
1768–9. The Middlesex Elections.
1770. Lord North Prime Minister.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The American Revolution and Pitt's Years of Peace, 1765–1793.

Personal History and Contemporary Rulers: see previous chapter.

§ 239. **Home Policy of North, 1770–1772.**—Lord North used his undoubted skill in the management of Parliament for the sole purpose of carrying out the King's policy. In return he won the entire favour of George III., and, with the support of the royal "influence," was enabled to remain in office twelve years. He was neither a particularly able nor a successful man. Indeed, the last years of his administration form one of the darkest periods in our annals. But at first the outlook was not particularly gloomy. Before he had been long in office an event of no little moment occurred. The House of Commons imprisoned some printers for publishing reports of parliamentary debates and procedure. Wilkes, and other magistrates of the City of London, successfully vindicated the Liberty of the Press in this respect, and thus rendered it possible for the public to acquire an exact knowledge of what went on in Parliament.

§ 240. **The English Colonies in North America, 1607–1763.**—The older English colonies in North America —that is, all except the colonies acquired from France by the treaties of 1713 and 1763—fell naturally into three main geographical groups. The first contained the New England colonies. These were Puritan in origin and

in feeling, and they were accustomed to a far greater degree of self-government than the mother country. The second cluster included the middle colonies of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. Taken from the Netherlands, they contained mainly Dutch and German settlers. The third group comprised the southern colonies, from Maryland to Georgia. They were inhabited by planters, growing sub-tropical crops by slave-labour; and were as aristocratic in feeling as the New Englanders were democratic. The colonies differed in interest as much as they differed in origin, and were slow to act in concert. Their relations with the mother country were vague. They had been founded for the most part by private enterprise, and Great Britain took little interest in them. She valued them chiefly as emporiums for English manufactures, or as sources of produce which could not be grown at home.

§ 241. **The Question of Imperial Taxation, 1765–1774.**— In 1765 Grenville, alarmed by the cost of "the Seven Years' War," had passed a *Stamp Act* (p. 286), requiring the Americans to pay fees for the stamping of certain kinds of documents in order to make them legally binding. It was only reasonable that the colonies should contribute to their own defence; and the proceeds were to be used for the maintenance of a colonial military system. But the colonists were constitutionally in the right when they objected to the imposition of taxes by a Parliament in which they were not represented. Though Rockingham lulled the storm by repealing the *Stamp Act* (1766), he at the same time kept the resentment of the colonists alive by asserting the right of Parliament to "bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever." Townshend, as has been said, later took advantage of his chief Chatham's illness to impose fresh taxes on the colonies by the *American Import Duties Act*. These duties differed from those imposed by the

Navigation Acts in being levied, not for the regulation of trade, but for revenue, and for that reason were resented by the colonists. When North came into office he abolished all the duties except that on tea, which he retained for the express purpose of upholding the rights of the British Parliament.

In December, 1773, some citizens of Massachusetts boarded the tea-ships lying in Boston harbour, and emptied a number of tea-chests into the sea. The British government unwisely attempted repressive measures. The *Boston Port Act* closed the harbour of Boston until its inhabitants should compensate the East India Company for the tea; the *Massachusetts Government Act* annulled the Charter of the colony and placed it under martial law.

§ 242. **The American Revolution, 1775–1783.**—These measures were met by fresh preparations for resistance in America. All the colonies, except Georgia, sent representatives to a Congress at Philadelphia in 1775, and claimed rights of representation, self-taxation, free discussion, and local juries. Their attitude induced the Home Government to unbend a little. North proposed that the British Parliament should relinquish its claims to tax any American colony which would consent to support its own civil and military establishment. But before the news of his proposal had reached America the War of Independence had actually begun. The Governor of Boston sent a force to destroy ammunition at Concord; and in returning it was attacked by Colonials at Lexington and driven into Boston with heavy loss. Two months later, the insurgents occupied a height commanding Boston from the north. They were expelled after a long day's struggle known as the Battle of Bunker's Hill. In the autumn of 1775 the rebels took Montreal. A little later they made an unsuccessful attempt to take Quebec, and were compelled to retreat from Canada.

This failure practically decided that Canada was not to share the fortunes of the other American colonies.

Early next year Washington, the greatest of the American leaders, took the field. He had delayed in order to impart some measure of discipline to his ragged troops. He now occupied Dorchester Heights and compelled Sir William Howe to evacuate Boston. Shortly afterwards Howe was re-inforced by troops consisting, for the most part, of Germans hired to serve under the British flag. The Americans were infuriated by the Home Government's use of foreign mercenaries, and as a direct consequence Congress issued its *Declaration of Independence* in 1776. But the colonies did not as yet present a united front to the enemy. There were many loyalists who, though not altogether in favour of George III.'s policy, believed in an amicable settlement. These were known as Tories. Their more strenuous opponents were called Whigs, and were generally supported by the Whigs in Great Britain—notably by Chatham, Burke, and Charles James Fox.

In 1777, the British hoped to win a decisive victory by a combination of forces. Sir John Burgoyne and other commanders, marching from Canada by various routes, were to converge on the Hudson and effect a junction with Howe's force. But Howe, who had occupied New York in 1776, spent the summer of 1777 in occupying Philadelphia; and had no troops to spare for operations on the Hudson. Burgoyne, advancing southwards without his support, was surrounded by overwhelming numbers and compelled to surrender at Saratoga in October 1777.

§ 243. **The Bourbon Intervention and Close of the Revolution, 1778–1783.**—The surrender of Burgoyne proved to be the turning-point in the war, and was followed by the intervention of France and Spain. Without foreign aid the Americans could hardly have secured their

independence. The French had already been secretly supporting the insurgents, but not until 1778 did they venture to make an open alliance with the colonies as an independent State. War broke out in consequence between France and Great Britain; and in 1779 Spain joined in on the side of France. Both the Bourbon powers were anxious to punish Great Britain for her successes in the Seven Years' War. They obtained their revenge, but at a heavy cost. Their intervention diverted the main interest of the war from land to sea, from America to Europe; and it was directly responsible for the outbreak of serious troubles in India, and in Ireland. All hope of reconciliation between Great Britain and her colonies expired with Chatham, who, while pleading for it in the House of Commons in 1778, was seized with a fatal illness and carried home to die.

But the intervention of France did not at first make any perceptible difference in the fortunes of the war. Though the British had to evacuate Philadelphia, they occupied Savannah in Georgia, and defeated a combined French and American force which was marching upon New York. In 1778, the British only just held their own in a fight off Ushant. In the following year the French and Spanish fleet swept the Channel unopposed, and Spain began her most determined attempt to recover Gibraltar. But in 1780, Rodney, on his way to the West Indies, defeated a Spanish fleet off St. Vincent and relieved Gibraltar. On the other hand, Britain now added war with the United Netherlands to her difficulties. In America, however, Lord Cornwallis appeared to be turning the tide of war; and so great was the despair of some of the Americans that one of their most able generals, Benedict Arnold, prepared to desert to the side of Great Britain, and to hand over his post on the Hudson to the enemy. His plans were discovered, and though he himself escaped, Major André, the British officer who was

settling the final details, was captured and hanged as a spy. But in 1781, the British successes, which had led to the treason of Arnold and the execution of André, were finally ended by the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. Hemmed in by the French fleet at sea and by the forces of Washington on land, the British general had no alternative but to yield.

§ 244. **The History of India before and during the War of the American Revolution, 1760–1784.**—In the early years of George III.'s reign important events had taken place in India. During the absence of Clive from Bengal (1760–65) the British Governors had quarrelled with the new Nawáb, Mír Kásim, who retaliated by massacring Europeans at Patna. He was defeated in 1764 by Major Munro in the battle of Buxar, and deposed. As a result of this dispute Clive came to the conclusion that quarrels between British officials and native rulers could be avoided only if the Company took a greater share of power and responsibility. By the *Treaty of Allahábád* it was accordingly arranged that the Company should act as Treasurer on behalf of the Nawáb of Bengal, and collect the taxes, keeping about half the amount for itself and handing over the balance to the Nawáb and his suzerain, the Great Mogul. Native officials were employed as far as possible in the actual work of collection, and Clive tried to check the rapacity of the British officials by securing them larger salaries and by forbidding them to receive gifts from the natives. When he returned to England the House of Commons, after listening to attacks on his honesty, formally declared that Clive "had rendered meritorious services to his country."

But, in spite of the territorial acquisitions and reforms of Lord Clive, the East India Company not only got into debt, but acquired, through the greed of its officials, an

undesirable reputation for rapacity. Accordingly, in 1773, North passed a *Regulating Act*, appointing a Governor-General in Bengal to supervise all the British officials in India. He was made responsible to the Home Government. The first Governor-General sent out under the new Act was Warren Hastings, a man of character and resource. During his first five years in India he put the administration of Bengal into good order. His next task was to save British dominion in India from overthrow by the native princes, backed by France. The desire of the Bombay Government to obtain Salsette and Bassein involved it in the First Maráthá War (1778–82), from which it was only extricated by the generals Hastings sent across India to the rescue.

At the same time, the Madras Government was attacked by Haidar Alí, the ruler of Mysore. This first Mysore War (1778–84) was also in part the result of the seizure of the French towns of Pondicherry and Mahé. Haidar Alí burst into the Carnatic and defeated Munro, but was himself routed by Sir Eyre Coote at Porto Novo and Polilore in 1781. Before the squadron sent by the French to the assistance of the natives had arrived, the crisis, fortunately for Hastings and his country, was over. The long struggle against the French and their native allies had to be maintained without any substantial help from the Home Government. Sheer necessity, therefore, drove Hastings to means of raising money which ultimately caused his impeachment and injured his reputation.

§ 245. **Ireland and the Gordon Riots in England, 1780–1782.**—It being necessary to denude Ireland of troops for foreign war, the British Government (1779) authorised the formation of a force of Protestant volunteers for the defence of the country. These volunteers, by supporting demands for economic reform, which were being made about

this time under the leadership of Henry Grattan, intimidated Lord North into granting Ireland a measure of Free Trade, by the removal of the restrictions on the woollen industry and on commercial intercourse between Ireland and the colonies (1780). North's successor, Rockingham, conceded a later request for legislative independence. The British Parliament repealed its *Declaratory Act* of 1719, and the Irish Parliament was allowed to repeal *Poynings' Law.*

In the meantime England was disturbed by the "No Popery" riots and by constitutional discontent. The repeal of the anti-Romanist Act of 1700, in 1778, had led to no open resistance, but the attempt to pass a similar measure for Scotland produced widespread agitation. Lord George Gordon put himself at the head of an anti-Romanist mob which had London at its mercy for several days. The personal action of George III. himself at last quelled the riot. Two months before the growing dissatisfaction with the King's government had found expression in Parliament. In the spring of 1780, Dunning carried a resolution in the House of Commons to the effect that "the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished."

§ 246. **Battle of the Saints and Peace of Versailles, 1782–1783.**—As far as America was concerned the surrender of Yorktown was the end of the war. But elsewhere British prospects were growing brighter. The last serious disaster was the loss of Minorca (1782). A month later, Rodney and Hood completely defeated the French near the Saints, islands lying between Guadeloupe and Dominica; and before the close of the year Elliott beat off the great effort of France and Spain to take Gibraltar. These victories not only re-established Great Britain as the mistress of the seas, but also strengthened the hands

of the British diplomatists in their negotiations for peace. North had resigned after the loss of Minorca; and the peace was concluded by the various ministries which followed one another in quick succession during the next two years.

The treaties with the United States, France and Spain were signed in September, 1783, that with the United Netherlands not until 1784. The terms were less unfavourable than Great Britain could have expected two or three years earlier. The independence of the United States was recognised, and their boundaries were extended by the cession of Louisiana. France gained Tobago, Senegal, and increased fishing facilities on the French shore of Newfoundland. Spain retained her conquests of Minorca and the Floridas. On the other hand, Great Britain gained from the Dutch Nagapatnam and the privilege of free navigation and commerce in Dutch East Indian waters. Though vanquished, Great Britain, as the next ten years showed, was less exhausted than her victorious enemies.

§ 247. **Ministerial Changes, 1782–1783.**—When North resigned, George III. was compelled to accept Whig ministers with Rockingham at their head. Rockingham's administration was short-lived; but during its few months of office it opened negotiations with France, gave Ireland legislative independence, disqualified revenue officers (who controlled many elections and were entirely under the influence of Government) and Government contractors from sitting in Parliament, and abolished several useless offices. When Rockingham died, Shelburne took his place, and William Pitt, second son of the Earl of Chatham, became Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons.

Eight months later the ministers were defeated in a debate on the peace by the combined efforts of the followers of Fox and the followers of North, two old enemies whose alliance

was described as an "unnatural coalition." George III. disliked and would not at first accept them, but their overwhelming strength in the Commons at length compelled him to "swallow the bitter potion." Before long, however, Fox introduced an *India Bill*, the effect of which, in the opinion of Lord Thurlow—the "King's Friend"—would be to take "the diadem off the King's head to set it on that of Mr. Fox;" and George, by sending Lord Temple among the peers with a paper declaring that the King would consider support of the Bill as an act of enmity to himself, was able to defeat the measure, and to dismiss the ministers who had introduced it. He then invited Pitt to form an administration. Pitt was only twenty-four and had not been more than three years in Parliament; he was hopelessly outnumbered in the Commons, but he was very popular outside the House; and he resolved to appeal to his supporters by means of a General Election. This new device was successful. Over one hundred and sixty members of the Opposition lost their seats and were jestingly nicknamed "Fox's Martyrs."

§ 248. **Domestic Policy of Pitt, 1783–1793.**—Pitt remained in office nearly eighteen years. During about half that time the country was at peace, during the other half at war. It is generally held that Pitt's years of peace, though less full of stirring events, were more glorious and more successful than his years of war. He was before all else a finance minister. His economic ideas were largely based on those of Adam Smith, the Glasgow professor who, in 1776, had marked the rise of a new political economy by the publication of his book, *The Wealth of Nations*. It urged the removal of restrictions on commerce and on industry, and advocated a change in the methods of taxation. Pitt re-arranged the import duties in such a way that they brought in more revenue to the Government, while at the

same time the goods were rendered cheaper to the consumer. This was done by reducing the duties on articles of common consumption, such as tea, thereby making smuggling less profitable. He also passed strong measures for the suppression of contraband traffic. He established a Sinking Fund for the reduction of the National Debt, and he tried to remove restrictions on external commerce. His attempt to give Ireland commercial equality with England was frustrated by the merchant interest in the British Parliament. But in 1786, by a treaty with France, he arranged for the mutual reduction of the duties imposed by England on French and by France on English goods.

§ 249. **Pitt's India Bill and Foreign Policy, 1783–1793.** —Pitt's first measure had been an *India Act* designed to remedy the defects of North's *Regulating Act*. The Company was allowed to retain its commercial monopoly, but its political and military administration was subordinated to the Home Government. The first Governor-General under the new Act was Lord Cornwallis. During his term of office his predecessor, Hastings, was impeached by Burke and Sheridan before the House of Lords. He was charged with having lent British troops to the Nawáb of Oudh for use against the Rohillás, and with having adopted extreme measures to extract money from the Rájá of Benares and the Begums of Oudh. These acts were the outcome of his necessities during the first Maráthá and Mysore Wars. His trial, after dragging on for eight years (1788–96), ended in an acquittal.

The chief incident of the foreign policy of Pitt during his early years was the *Triple Alliance* which he negotiated with Prussia and the United Netherlands in 1788. It brought him no little prestige, and France, in consequence, declined to support the efforts of Spain to exclude Great Britain from Nootka Sound; with the result that Great Britain obtained

a foothold on the Pacific Coast of North America, and laid the foundations of the colonies of British Columbia and Vancouver Island. About the same time an English colony was established in Australia. In 1788, some convicts condemned to transportation were landed at Botany Bay. Moving from there to the neighbouring harbour of Port Jackson, they founded a town called Sydney, in honour of Pitt's Foreign Secretary. George III. in the same year had a temporary return of insanity.

Chronology of Chief Events.

1773. North's Regulating Act.
1773. Boston "Party" Tea.
1775. Beginning of the American War.
1775. Battles of Lexington and Bunker's Hill.
1776. Declaration of Independence.
1777. Capitulation of Saratoga.
1778. French Alliance with America.
1778–82. First Maráthá War.
1778–84. First Mysore War.
1780. Gordon Riots.
1781. Capitulation of Yorktown.
1782. Rodney's victory off the Saints.
1783. Peace of Paris.
1783. Pitt Prime Minister.
1784. Pitt's India Act.
1788–96. Impeachment of Warren Hastings.
1786. Commercial Treaty with France.
1788. Pitt's Triple Alliance.
1788. Botany Bay.
1788–89. Regency Question.
1791. Pitt's Canada Act.

BOOK IX.

The Great War and the Industrial Revolution, 1793–1837.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 250. **Retrospect, 1756–1793.**—Between 1756 and 1793 the first colonial empire of Great Britain attained its widest limits at the *Treaties of Paris* and *Allahábád*, but fell to pieces at the *Peace of Versailles*. At home the Whig Oligarchy reached its zenith during the Seven Years' War, but was overthrown later by the persistent efforts of George III. In the next period again we have to study two wars, and again France is the chief antagonist of Great Britain. But these wars are almost continuous, and they are followed by a constitutional struggle on a more extensive scale than that in the reign of George III. The Revolution in France, moreover, and industrial changes in England, entirely differentiate the later period, in spite of superficial resemblances, from the earlier.

§ 251. **The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Empire, 1789–1815.**—In France, a number of social changes, which took place gradually in Great Britain, were effected hurriedly and with violence in the few years of the "French Revolution." The causes of that Revolution were social, intellectual and political. Class divisions were wide and deep. The clergy and nobles were privileged; but the middle classes had little political power, and the peasants were still subject to many of the burdens of feudalism. During the eighteenth century, philosophical

writers—notably Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Rousseau—in criticising the existing institutions of France, had led the oppressed classes to believe that changes in the methods of government would restore a golden age. Finally, Louis XV. and Louis XVI. had brought the State to the verge of bankruptcy. When, therefore, Louis XVI. summoned the States-General (1789), after an interval of a century and three-quarters, in the hope that they would grant him much-needed supplies, the representatives of the Third Estate turned the assembly into a "National Assembly," and, backed by the Paris mob, forced the King to assent to sweeping changes.

In 1791 this National Assembly was succeeded by a "Legislative Assembly," which plunged into war with Austria. A year later this Assembly was replaced by a "National Convention," which set up a Republic and fought Great Britain and other kingdoms in the name of "Liberty." In 1793 the King was sent to the guillotine. In 1795 the Republic passed under the control of an executive committee of five members, known as the "Directory"; which was superseded four years later by a smaller committee called the Consulate, and Napoleon Bonaparte, a Corsican, became First Consul. In 1804 he made the French Republic an Empire, and after a victorious career as Emperor was finally overthrown by a European coalition in 1815.

§ 252. **International Struggle and Causes of the Success of Great Britain in the War, 1793–1815.**—Between 1793 and 1815 France was almost always at war with one or more of the European states, but her most persistent enemy was Great Britain. There was only one year of peace (1802–3). One constant motive of the struggle was the old one of commercial and colonial rivalry. Great Britain finally triumphed because of her naval power France, after twenty years of military success, being at

last conquered on land as well as at sea. Political reform in Great Britain during the war, and for some years after its cessation, was checked by hostility to France and to French ideas. The French Revolution increased Irish discontent, and led indirectly to the union between Great Britain and Ireland in 1800 ; it was also the cause of an extension of British rule in India; and it involved Great Britain in war with the United States of America. The strain of the Great War was rendered endurable by a great increase in the material resources of Great Britain.

§ 253. **Economic Features of the "Industrial Revolution."**—Throughout the eighteenth century improvements were taking place in British agriculture. The rotation of crops gave much greater returns to cultivation; large areas were brought under tillage by enclosing the common fields and waste land which had survived the enclosures of the sixteenth century; and the breed of both cattle and sheep was improved. But, unfortunately for the nation as a whole, the larger share of the gain due to improved methods went to the great landholders, and a valuable class of yeomen and small farmers was almost destroyed. The changes in manufacture also benefited the capitalist rather than the artisan. A number of mechanical inventions—notably James Hargreaves's spinning-jenny (1767) and Richard Arkwright's spinning-frame (1769)—cheapened and quickened the output of cotton goods, and later that of woollen materials. The production of iron was increased by the re-discovery of the art of smelting by coal instead of by wood.

The new machinery was at first driven by water, but in 1785 James Watt introduced steam-power. The consequent growth of manufactures encouraged improved methods of transport, which took the shape of canals, macadamised roads and steam-worked railways. Between 1760 and

1800 three thousand miles of canals were built by Brindley and others; and between 1760 and 1830 numerous turnpike roads were constructed. In 1830, the first railway regularly worked by locomotive engines was opened between Liverpool and Manchester. In 1812, Bell and Symington had started a steamboat on the Clyde, and in 1819 an American vessel partly driven by steam crossed the Atlantic.

§ 254. **Social Consequences of the Industrial Revolution.**—But the substitution of machinery for hand-labour, together with the change from war to peace, unavoidably brought loss and suffering as well as gain. As a result of the industrial revolution a much larger proportion of the population was "divorced from the land" than before, and dependent for a livelihood on wages. The introduction of machinery, moreover, lessened the demand for hand-labour, and lowered the wages of the labourers at the very time when a series of bad harvests combined with the operation of new Corn Laws to raise the price of food. The condition of the rural labourers was little better than that of the people who crowded into the large towns which had sprung up under the factory system. Hence the years following the *Peace of Paris* were marked by political agitation and social riot. Some of the sufferers imagined that they could increase the demand for labour by burning hayricks and breaking machinery. Others demanded political reform. At first the Government, full of the horror which the French Revolution had inspired, could find no remedy for discontent but repression. Ultimately, however, a new school of politicians arose, who tried to cure the social disease by removing its causes.

§ 255. **Political Results of the Industrial Revolution.**—The new school of reform contained the more progressive Whigs and the less conservative Tories; its members

assumed the continental name of "Liberals." Practically they took up the task which the younger Pitt had been compelled to drop on the outbreak of the war with France; but the lapse of time, and changes in society, had increased the population, and rendered reform more urgent and more difficult. The measures of the Liberals fall into three main groups. Those in the first group abolished the disqualification which excluded persons not belonging to the Established Church from the public service; those in the second adapted the parliamentary constitution to the new circumstances; those in the third provided better opportunities for various classes which had hitherto been ignored or erroneously treated. The repeal of the *Test Act* and the *Corporation Act* in 1828, and the passing of the *Roman Catholic Relief Act* in 1829 came under the first heading; the *Reform Acts* of 1832 came under the second; and the *Abolition of Slavery Act*, the *Factory Act*, and the *Reformed Poor Law* came under the third.

§ 256. **The Rise of Nationalities.**—During this period two new movements, largely due to the French Revolution, were profoundly affecting the foreign and colonial policy of Great Britain. One of these movements was known by the name of *Nationalism*, and it was inspired by the idea that every "state" ought to correspond to a "nation"; the other was called *Liberalism*, and it was the outcome of the idea that each state should be governed in accordance with the wishes of its people as expressed in a representative assembly. In opposition to these movements the rulers, having acquired through the example of France a lively horror of Revolution, sometimes met in congress for the purpose of arranging joint measures for the suppression of disturbance. The leading spirit in the conference was the Austrian statesman, Metternich. Gradually Great

Britain dissociated herself from the continental monarchies, and, on the whole, adopted an attitude of non-intervention. There was no sharp break in either the foreign or the domestic policy of Great Britain. In course of time the dread of reform grew less, and repression was given up. Statesmen came to see that reform was inevitable at home, and not necessarily reprehensible abroad.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Revolutionary War, 1793–1802.

Personal History of George III. See Chapter XXII.

CONTEMPORARY RULERS (1789–1820).

PAPACY.	AUSTRIA.	PRUSSIA.	FRANCE.	SPAIN.	SWEDEN.	RUSSIA.
Pius VI. (1775)	Joseph II. H.R.E. (1765) Leopold II. H.R.E. (1790)	Frederick William II. (1786)	Louis XVI. (1774–1792) *Republic*, 1792 *Directory*, 1795. *Consulate*, 1799. *Empire*, 1804. Louis XVIII. (1814–1824)	Charles IV. (1788) Ferdinand VII. (1808–1833) [Joseph Bonaparte Rival, 1808–1813]	Gustavus III. (1771) Gustavus IV. (1792) Charles XIII. (1809) Charles XIV. *Bernadotte* (1818–1844)	Katherine II. (1762) Paul I. (1796) Alexander I. (1801–1825)
Pius VII. (1800–1823)	Francis II. H.R.E. (1792–1806) [= Francis I. "Emperor of Austria" (1804–1835)]	Frederick William III. (1797–1840)				

§ 257. **Attitude of Great Britain towards the French Revolution.**—The French Revolution was watched with mixed feelings by the people of Great Britain. Those who desired constitutional progress at home sympathised with the Revolution abroad; and those who opposed the one denounced the other. In 1790, however, Burke's great work—*Reflections on the French Revolution*—began to turn the balance of opinion definitely against the French. And the immoderate claims and violence of the Revolutionists soon changed this growing hostility into active opposition. In 1792 France replied to the protests of Austria and Prussia in favour of Louis XVI. by a declaration of war. The National Convention then abolished the French

Monarchy, proclaimed a Republic, and after conquering the Austrian Netherlands declared the Scheldt open to the trade of all nations. It next issued a decree offering aid to any "people" struggling to be free from the "tyranny" of any "government." Finally it sent King Louis XVI. to the guillotine (1793).

Great Britain and the United Provinces thereupon joined Sardinia, Spain, Portugal, Austria, and Prussia in a coalition against France; the formal reason given for war being that the opening of the Scheldt was a breach of many treaties. For the moment the allies were successful. But, after the determined Jacobin party had overthrown the more moderate Girondins and formed a vigorous "Committee of Public Safety," French armies drove the Austrians out of the Southern Netherlands and Alsace; put down Royalist risings in La Vendée and elsewhere; forced the Duke of York to raise the siege of Dunkirk; and compelled Hood to evacuate Toulon, which he had held for some months on behalf of the French Royalists.

§ 258. **The Reign of Terror and its Effect on the Internal Politics of Great Britain, 1793–1794.**—In France, the Committee of Public Safety, led by Robespierre, Danton and Marat, sent all the supposed enemies of the Republic to the guillotine. In 1794, France returned to a more normal kind of government. In the meantime the "Reign of Terror" had inspired the governing classes of Great Britain with panic. Fear of a similar outbreak of popular fury in England led the English ministers to infringe both the liberty of the subject and freedom of speech. The suspension of the *Habeas Corpus Act* gave government officials greater powers of arrest and imprisonment, while other Acts gave them some control over political meetings, the Press and revolutionary speech. These oppressive measures were not altogether without justification, for bad harvests, industrial

changes, and consequent starvation had produced ominous signs of social discontent.

§ 259. **Further Progress of the War, 1794–1797.**—As early as 1794 Great Britain began to counterbalance the losses of her allies on land by her own victories at sea. Lord Howe defeated a French fleet off Ushant and the British fleets occupied some of the French possessions in the West Indies. But the following year Great Britain lost one of her allies when France conquered the United provinces, and others in 1795 when France made peace with Spain and Prussia. Though the English were able to seize some Dutch colonies, notably Ceylon and Cape Colony, an expedition to Quiberon Bay in aid of the French Royalists was a disastrous failure. Accordingly, since the establishment of the Directory had apparently given France a stable government, Pitt opened negotiations for peace in 1796. But they fell through because he declined to leave France in possession of the Netherlands. The same year saw the victorious campaign of Napoleon Bonaparte in Italy, which not only made his reputation as a general, but also compelled Austria to come to terms in the *Treaty of Campo-Formio* (1797).

The Directory followed up its victory by an attack on Great Britain. The attempted invasion of a small French force was easily defeated, but the intention of the French fleet to use the Dutch and Spanish fleets against Great Britain was more alarming. The position of the island kingdom was indeed perilous. The Bank of England was only saved from bankruptcy by Pitt's serious step of authorising it to refuse cash-payments;[1] and, a little later, mutinies in the Navy threatened to deprive Great Britain of the services of her fleet. Lord Howe remedied the grievances—bad food, low wages, and the cruelty of officers

[1] To refuse to give money in exchange for bank-notes.

—of the fleet at Spithead. The mutineers at the Nore were gradually brought to submission and their ringleaders executed. Even before the mutinies began, the outlook had been brightened by the great naval victory of Sir John Jervis and Horatio Nelson over the Spanish fleet off St. Vincent, and, after they were over, Duncan defeated the Dutch fleet off Camperdown.

§ 260. **Bonaparte's Eastern Expedition and the Formation of a Second Coalition against France, 1798.**— In 1798, Great Britain stood entirely alone, and her safety was further endangered by a rebellion in Ireland. The Directory wished to help the Irish rebels, but Bonaparte believed that he could cripple England by attacking her in Egypt and Syria, and thence conquer Turkey and India. He took Malta from the Knights of St. John, and made himself master of Egypt by the Battle of the Pyramids. But his triumph was short-lived. Within a month Nelson had destroyed his fleet in Aboukir Bay, near the western mouth of the Nile; and in the spring of 1799 Sir Sydney Smith helped to drive him back from Acre. He had, moreover, offended the Czar Paul, who also had designs on Turkey, by his Eastern campaign, and exposed the growing weakness of the Directory.

As a result Austria, Naples, Britain and Russia joined in another coalition against France. But the Duke of York was compelled to withdraw his troops from the Netherlands by the *Capitulation of Alkmaar*, 1799; and, though Austria was for a time successful in North Italy, the Russian generals could not hold Switzerland. Early in 1800 Napoleon overthrew the Directory and assumed the direction of affairs with the title of First Consul. A still more decisive foreign policy was the immediate result. Bonaparte crossed the Alps and defeated the Austrian army at Marengo in June 1800. Before the close of the year the

French general, Moreau, won an even greater victory over the Austrians at Hohenlinden. Meanwhile the Coalition was falling to pieces. The Czar Paul was alienated when Malta passed under British control, and was easily induced by Napoleon to revive the Armed Neutrality[1] of 1780. Early in 1801, moreover, Austria made peace with France.

But France was not uniformly successful. If the British could effect little against the military strength of France, the French were equally powerless before the naval supremacy of Great Britain. By the "Battle of the Baltic," fought in Copenhagen Roads, Sir Hyde Parker and Lord Nelson compelled Denmark to give up her fleet, and a little later, after the murder of her Czar, Russia detached herself from France. Great Britain, moreover, modified her right of search, and so broke up the Armed Neutrality. In the meantime Pitt had resigned in connection with the affairs of Ireland, and the new Addington ministry was eager for peace. Napoleon, who wanted time to organise the French navy with a view to a more ambitious policy in the future, was ready to meet them half-way. The result was the *Peace of Amiens*, 1802. Great Britain relinquished the claim (begun by Edward III.) to the kingship of France, and all her conquests except Ceylon and Trinidad, and promised, on conditions, to re-establish the Knights of St. John in Malta. France agreed to evacuate Naples and the Papal States, and to recognise the independence of the Ionian Islands and the claim of Turkey to Egypt.

§ 261. **The Irish Rebellion and the Act of Union, 1791–1800.**—In Ireland, the experiment of an independent Parliament had not proved satisfactory. There was a widespread demand for Parliamentary Reform and Roman Catholic Emancipation. Pitt tried to lull the discontent,

[1] *i. e.* Russia, Sweden and Denmark combined to protect the rights of neutral ships against Great Britain.

and sent Lord Fitzwilliam to make concessions to the Roman Catholics. Hasty action, however, on Fitzwilliam's part led to his recall, which was followed by an alliance between the United Irishmen and the lower classes among the Irish Romanists. The French joined the Irish, and sent an expedition to help the rebels, but the ships were dispersed by storms. Before another expedition could be dispatched the Government, with the help of the Protestant yeomanry, had disarmed the Roman Catholics in most parts of Ireland. In the summer of 1798, however, a rebellion broke out in Wexford. It was suppressed in a fight at Vinegar Hill. Two months later a French force landed at Killala and, though at first successful, soon had to surrender.

Believing that a legislative union was the only way to restore peace, Pitt prepared the *Act of Union*, which was passed by both the Parliament of Ireland and the Parliament of Great Britain, and came into force on January 1, 1801. It provided that the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland should form a united kingdom, having a single Parliament, in which Ireland should be represented by four spiritual lords, twenty-eight temporal lords, and one hundred commoners; that the Established Churches of England and Ireland should be united; and that Ireland should be admitted to commercial equality with Great Britain. The Irish Union, unlike the Scottish Union, contained no securities for the religion of the majority of the population of Ireland. Pitt wished to introduce a supplementary measure for the benefit of the Roman Catholics in Ireland, but he was prevented by the conscientious scruples of George III., who believed that he would be breaking his coronation oath if he consented to such a bill. Pitt accordingly resigned his post.

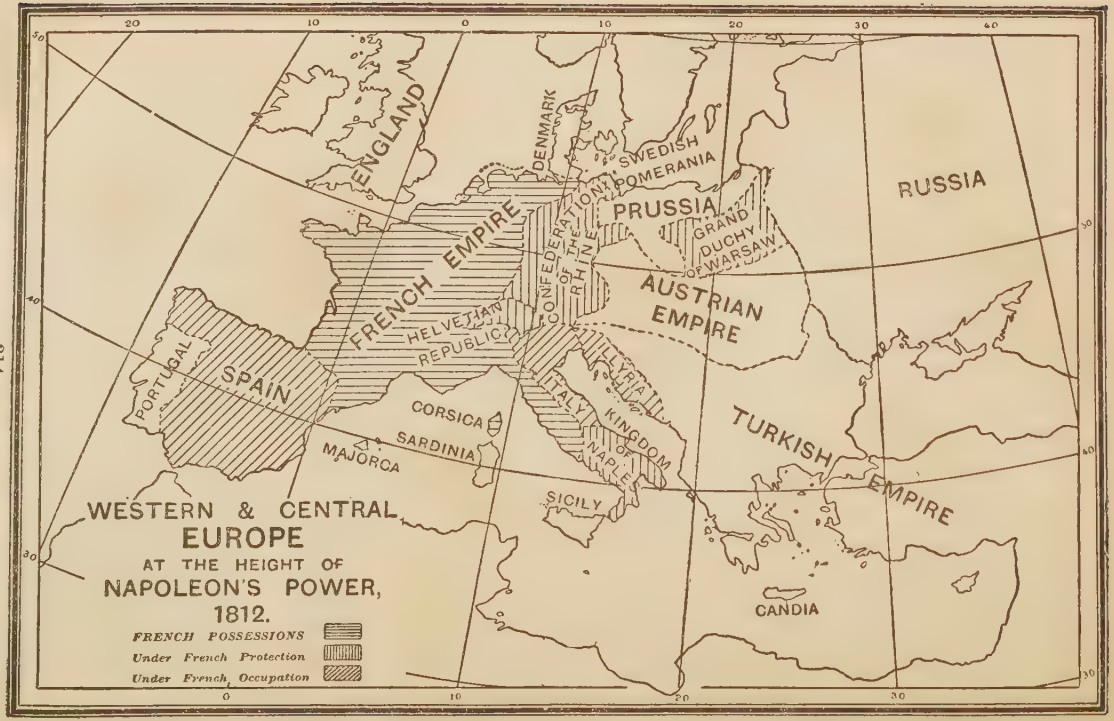
§ 262. **The French Revolution and India, 1790–1804.**— The French Revolution had also a considerable influence over Indian policy. In accordance with their instructions,

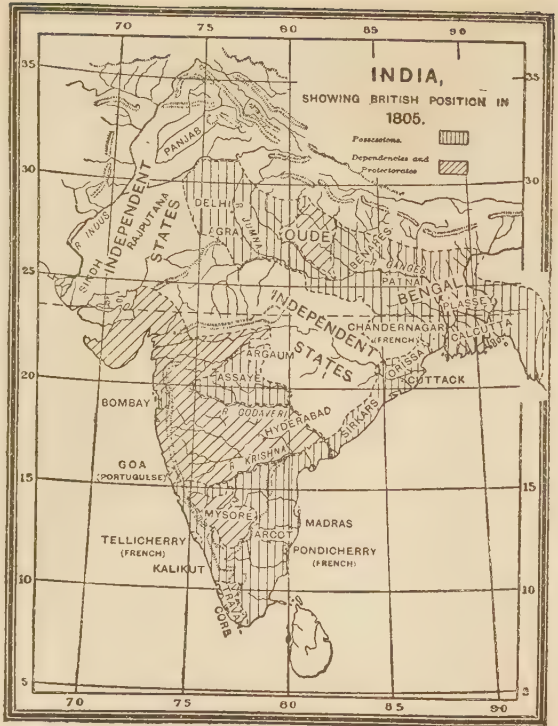
the Governor-Generals of India had done their best to abstain from intervention in native affairs. Lord Cornwallis had, nevertheless, been compelled to suppress Tipú Sáhib, who had succeeded Haidar Alí as Sultan of Mysore, and to deprive him of half his territory. And Richard Wellesley, Earl of Mornington, who became Governor-General in the year of Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt, held that the near approach of the French, and the presence of French agents in India, made the policy of non-intervention no longer safe. He, therefore, required the Indian Princes to cease their quarrels and to receive and pay for the protection of a body of British troops. But Tipú Sáhib declined to enter into any such subsidiary treaty. The result was a short war, ended by the storming of Seringapatam (1799) and Tipú's death in the fight.

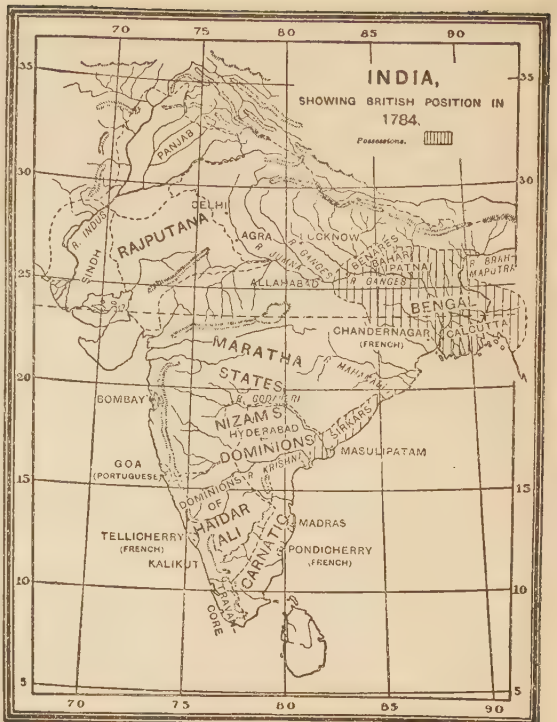
Between 1800 and 1802, Mornington, now Marquess Wellesley, annexed Tanjore, the Carnatic and other territories, and induced several of the native princes to agree to subsidiary treaties. But some of the Maráthá chiefs had to be brought to terms by force. The second Maráthá War was marked by the great victories of Wellesley's brother, Arthur, afterwards the famous Duke of Wellington, at Assaye, and Argáum, 1803. It practically made the whole of India, outside Rájputána and the Indus Valley, directly or indirectly subject to the East India Company.

Chronology of Chief Events.

1793. Execution of Louis XVI.
1793. Relief for Irish Romanists.
1794. Suspension of Habeas Corpus Act.
1795. Treasonable Practices Act.
1795. Seditious Meetings Act.
1797. Bank of England suspends Cash Payments.
1797. Peace of Campo-Formio.
1797. Battle of St. Vincent.
1797. Battle of Camperdown.
1798. Rebellion in Wexford.
1799. Capitulation of Alkmaar.
1799. Storming of Seringapatam.
1800. Act of Union between England and Ireland.
1800. Battle of Marengo.
1800. Battle of Hohenlinden.
1801. "Battle of the Baltic."
1802. Peace of Amiens.
1803. Battles of Assaye and Argáum.


ENGLAND
DENMARK
SWEDISH POMERANIA
RUSSIA
PRUSSIA
GRAND DUCHY OF WARSAW
CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE
FRENCH EMPIRE
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
HELVETIAN REPUBLIC
ILLYRIA
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
ITALY
KINGDOM OF NAPLES
CORSICA
SARDINIA
MAJORCA
SICILY
TURKISH EMPIRE
CANDIA
WESTERN & CENTRAL EUROPE
AT THE HEIGHT OF NAPOLEON'S POWER, 1812.
FRENCH POSSESSIONS
Under French Protection
Under French Occupation


INDIA,
SHOWING BRITISH POSITION IN
1805.
Possessions.
Dependencies and Protectorates
INDEPENDENT RAJPUTANA STATES
PUNJAB
DELHI
AGRA
OUDE
BENGAL
PATNA
INDEPENDENT STATES
CHANDERNAGARN (FRENCH)
CALCUTTA
CUTTACK
BOMBAY
GOA (PORTUGUESE)
HYDERABAD
SIRKARS
MYSORE
MADRAS
TELLICHERRY (FRENCH)
KALIKUT
PONDICHERRY (FRENCH)
INDUS
GANGES
JUMNA
KRISHNA
GODAVERI
SINDH


INDIA,
SHOWING BRITISH POSITION IN
1784.
Possessions.
PUNJAB
RAJPUTANA
DELHI
AGRA
LUCKNOW
BENGAL
PATNA
ALLAHABAD
CHANDERNAGAR (FRENCH)
CALCUTTA
MARATHA STATES
BOMBAY
NIZAM'S DOMINIONS
HYDERABAD
SIRKARS
MASULIPATAM
GOA (PORTUGUESE)
DOMINIONS OF HAIDAR ALI
CARNATIC
MADRAS
TELLICHERRY (FRENCH)
KALIKUT
PONDICHERRY (FRENCH)
INDUS
GANGES
JUMNA
KRISHNA
GODAVERI
SINDH

CHAPTER XXV.

The Napoleonic War, 1803–1815.

Personal History of George III : see Chapter XXII.

Contemporary Rulers: see Chapter XXIV.

§ 263. **Renewal of the War, 1803.**—The Peace of Amiens lasted little more than a year. The ambitious schemes of Napoleon threatened the independence not only of Great Britain, but of all the European states. Though their full extent was not known, his annexations in Switzerland and in Italy, during the peace, caused general alarm, and Great Britain made them an excuse for not evacuating Malta. A little later the Addington ministry declared war. Napoleon retaliated by seizing ten thousand British travellers in France and throwing them into prison.[1] He then made preparations for an invasion of England. The Addington ministry replied by raising volunteers, and by building blockhouses along the coast. But no general confidence was felt in the Government, and in 1804, Addington gave place to Pitt, who on taking office had to promise not to raise the question of Roman Catholic Emancipation. Pitt chose his colleagues from his old supporters, the Tories, and adopted his former policy of a European coalition against France.[2] But it was not until 1805 that the alliance was complete, and

[1] They were not released until the end of the war.

[2] The allies were Great Britain, Austria, Russia and Sweden. France secured the support of Spain.

by that time Napoleon had become Emperor of the French.

§ 264. **Battle of Trafalgar, 1805.**—The fleets on which Napoleon depended for the invasion of England were shut up in the harbours of Toulon, Cadiz, Ferrol, Rochefort and Brest by Nelson and other British admirals. Napoleon hoped that some of them might break the blockade, sail for the West Indies, and, after drawing the British fleets away in pursuit, return to overwhelm the Channel Fleet and to cover the crossing from Boulogne. Villeneuve sailed across the Atlantic and back hotly pursued by Nelson, and on his return found Admiral Calder waiting for him near Finisterre. Though the English inflicted no serious loss on their enemy, Villeneuve retreated to Cadiz, and Napoleon impatiently turned his energies elsewhere. Two months later the combined French and Spanish fleets emerged from harbour. Nelson and Collingwood encountered them off Trafalgar and won an overwhelming victory. Nelson was killed in battle, but not before his work was done. An invasion of England was rendered impossible for the time, and has never been thought of since.

§ 265. **Battle of Austerlitz and Death of Pitt and Fox, 1805–1806.**—The allies were as unsuccessful on land as Great Britain was successful at sea. Disappointed in his plans for the invasion of England, Napoleon had turned against his continental enemies. He compelled the Austrian general Mack to surrender with his whole army at Ulm, and he defeated the rest of the Austrian forces, and also the Russian army at Austerlitz near Vienna. Pitt was overwhelmed by the greatness of the disaster. In less than a month after the Treaty of Pressburg was signed, he died. After his death, a combined administration came into power. Grenville represented the Old Whigs, Fox the

New Whigs, and Addington (now Lord Sidmouth) the "King's Friends." It was known as "the Ministry of All the Talents."

Fox at first attempted to make peace with France, but he soon realised that Napoleon was only trying to gain time, and abandoned the attempt. Shortly afterwards he died. The Ministry of All the Talents showed no capacity for war. Early in the year 1806, an expedition arranged by Pitt had resulted in the capture of the Cape of Good Hope, which had been given up to the Dutch in 1802; but the expeditions sent out by the new administration were entirely fruitless. At home, however, the ministry deserves the credit of having introduced a *Bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.* Before the Bill had become law the ministers quarrelled with George III. over the question of Roman Catholic Emancipation and were dismissed from office. George sought the opinion of his subjects by a general election and found a large majority of the new House of Commons in his favour.

§ 266. **The Continental System, 1806–1808.**—After his victory of Austerlitz, Napoleon made his brother Joseph King of Naples, and his brother Louis King of Holland, and organised the petty states of Western Germany into a "Confederation of the Rhine," under French protection. These measures alarmed both Austria and Prussia. The Emperor, fearing that Napoleon would force him to abdicate in his favour, dissolved the Roman Empire, and fell back on the title which he had assumed two years earlier—Hereditary Emperor of Austria. Prussia appealed to arms. In a single day (Oct. 14, 1806) Napoleon overthrew one Prussian army at Jena, and his general Davoust overthrew another at Auerstadt. A fortnight later the French entered Berlin in triumph.

At Berlin Napoleon began a fresh attempt to subjugate

the British. Having been unable to destroy Great Britain's power at sea, he now attempted to undermine her strength by a commercial war. His *Berlin Decrees* declared the British Isles to be in a state of blockade, and forbade any article of British manufacture or origin, or any vessel hailing from Great Britain and her colonies, to be admitted within the dominions of France and her allies. The British Government replied by *Orders in Council* forbidding neutral vessels to frequent the ports of France and her dependencies, unless they had previously touched at a British port. Napoleon met this counter-attack by the *Milan Decrees*, declaring all ships that had touched at a British port, or been searched by British warships, to be lawful prize of war.

Napoleon's object was to deprive Great Britain of a market in Europe for her manufactured goods or for her colonial produce. The intention of Great Britain was to make it impossible for any other nation to enjoy the trade from which her own merchants were excluded. The British Navy was able to enforce the orders of the Government and thus to deprive the inhabitants of the greater part of Europe of many commodities which had become almost necessaries of life.

§ 267. **The Treaty of Tilsit, 1807.**—In order to render his *Berlin Decrees* really effective, Napoleon needed as many allies and subject states as possible. Russia was at that time in alliance with England ; but, after being left to her fate by the British, and defeated by Napoleon in the battle of Friedland (1807), she came to terms with France. The Czar Alexander and the Emperor Napoleon made a shameless bargain which was formally concluded in the *Treaty of Tilsit*. This consisted of (i) a Public Treaty, by which Russia agreed to recognise Napoleon's reconstruction of Germany at the cost of Alexander's ally, Prussia, and promised to mediate between France and Great Britain ;

and (ii) a Secret Treaty, by which Russia was to help France against Great Britain, and to permit Sweden, Denmark, and Portugal to be forced into the French alliance.

It was fortunate for Great Britain that at this critical juncture the Portland ministry, which had succeeded the Ministry of All the Talents, contained two men of ability. These were the Foreign Secretary, George Canning, and the Secretary for War and the Colonies, Viscount Castlereagh. Canning anticipated the designs of Russia and France on Denmark, by sending an expedition to bombard Copenhagen and to save the Danish fleet from falling into the enemy's hands. And when a French army marched into Lisbon to punish Portugal for her half-hearted adhesion to the Continental System, the British ministers helped the Portuguese Royal Family to escape to Brazil.

§ 268. **The Peninsular War, 1808–1809.**—Having secured Portugal, Napoleon tried to strengthen his hold on Spain. He compelled Charles IV. and his son Ferdinand to abdicate in favour of Joseph Bonaparte, and thus roused a national opposition against him which was a chief cause of his final overthrow. Canning sent help to the Spaniards and Portuguese. Sir Arthur Wellesley landed in Portugal and defeated the French at Rorica and Vimiero. He was then superseded by superior officers, who allowed the French to withdraw under the *Convention of Cintra* (1808). Shortly afterwards Napoleon entered Spain in person, and having defeated the Spaniards occupied Madrid. To gain time for the Spaniards to recover, the English general, Sir John Moore, advanced on Burgos, and when the French concentrated fell back on Corunna. As his transports did not arrive at once he was compelled to fight to cover the embarkation of his troops. He was victorious, but fell in the action (Jan. 1809).

The Spanish rising necessitated the presence of so large

a French army in Spain that Austria ventured a fourth attack on France. But Napoleon won a decisive victory at Wagram, 1809. At the same time the expedition sent by Great Britain to Walcheren, for the purpose of creating a diversion in the Low Countries, was a failure. Austria was compelled to enter into a marriage alliance with France; and Napoleon, divorcing his wife, Josephine Beauharnais, became the son-in-law of the Emperor of Austria.

§ 269. **Further Course of the Peninsular War, 1809–1812.** —The two ministers, Castlereagh and Canning, differed in their plans for future campaigns, and both resigned, Portland speedily following their example. Spencer Perceval then became Prime Minister, and the Marquess of Wellesley Foreign Secretary. The Peninsular War was resumed with vigour. Sir Arthur Wellesley had already taken the command, and had partly counterbalanced the failures of Wagram and Walcheren by winning the battle of Talavera, 1809. But in the following year he dared not risk a battle. Retreating slowly before Masséna, he finally retired behind the fortifications which he had constructed for the defence of Lisbon, across the Peninsula between the Tagus and the sea. Masséna could not break through the "triple lines" of Torres Vedras; supplies failed him and he was compelled to withdraw his troops into Spain (1811). Wellington then took the offensive. He defeated Masséna at Fuentes de Oñoro, while Beresford vanquished Soult after a deadly struggle at Albuera. Early in 1812 Wellesley took Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos, won the battle of Salamanca and temporarily occupied Madrid. But having received a check at Burgos a little later, he again retreated to Portugal for the winter. Napoleon had so drained the Peninsula of troops for his Russian campaign that the south of Spain and the whole of Portugal were now safe from the French.

§ 270. **The Regency and the American War, 1810–1814.**

—In 1810 George became permanently insane. The accession of his son George as Regent made little difference in politics, for he retained his father's ministers until the assassination of Perceval, in 1812, compelled a change. Lord Liverpool was made Prime Minister, with Castlereagh as Foreign, and Sidmouth as Home, Secretary. In the same year the commercial struggle between France and England involved Great Britain in war with America. Though Napoleon was quite as much to blame for the injury done to American commerce as Great Britain, the anti-British party in America managed to concentrate the hostility on Great Britain. The Americans made various raids into Canada, which the loyalty of the Canadians rendered barren of results, and the British burnt Washington, the American capital. The most notable contests of the war were a number of duels between frigates. In these America was generally victorious. To this rule, however, there were exceptions, the chief being the defeat of the *Chesapeake* by the *Shannon*. The war was terminated in 1814 by the *Treaty of Ghent*.

§ 271. **The Russian Campaign, the Wars of Liberation and the Downfall of Napoleon, 1812-1814.**—The American war had no influence on the contest in Europe, but the contemporary campaign in Russia had a disastrous effect on the fortunes of Napoleon. The Czar, finding that the Treaty of Tilsit benefited him little, and that Russia was suffering severely from the exclusion of British trade, withdrew from his alliance with France. Napoleon thereupon determined to conquer Russia. In 1812 the Emperor of the French entered Moscow. But the partial burning of the city compelled him to retire, and in his retreat he lost nearly the whole of his army.

Early in the following year Russia, Prussia, Austria, and the other German states joined together against France

in the War of Liberation. They drove Napoleon out of Leipsig, 1813, in the three days' fight known as the "Battle of the Nations." By the end of the year they had advanced to the eastern frontier of France, and Wellington, fighting his way inch by inch across the Pyrenees, had won a great victory at Vittoria. In 1814, the allies advanced steadily. Napoleon was compelled by his marshals to abdicate, and a few days later Wellington won his final victory over Soult at Toulouse. The allies agreed to the restoration of Louis XVI.'s brother under the title of Louis XVIII.[1]; and the *First Treaty of Paris* banished Napoleon to Elba and reduced France to her boundaries of 1792.

§ 272. **The Congress of Vienna, the Return of Napoleon, and the Waterloo Campaign, 1814–1815.**—Towards the end of the year the monarchs and statesmen of Christendom met in congress at Vienna to settle the affairs of Europe. Reports of their quarrels soon reached Napoleon, and, together with rumours of the unpopularity of the restored Bourbons, encouraged him to attempt the recovery of his power. Early in 1815 he left Elba, and in March once more entered Paris. The congress at Vienna broke up. A Fifth Coalition was formed, and thousands of men were sent by the allies to the north-eastern frontier of France. In June they came into touch with the enemy. On June 15 Napoleon crossed the Sambre and tried to insert his troops between the army of Wellington, whose head-quarters were at Brussels, and the Prussian army, lying further to the east. On June 16 Napoleon defeated the Prussians under Blücher at Ligny, and next day sent Grouchy in pursuit, while Ney tried to dislodge the British and Belgian troops under Wellington from their position at Quatre Bras. In the evening the English, to keep in touch with the Prussians, fell back on Waterloo, and

[1] Louis XVII., son of Louis XVI., died a prisoner of the Revolutionists.

Napoleon, who imagined that Blücher had been rendered helpless, attacked Wellington's army with the bulk of his forces on the 18th. All day the English held their position, and towards evening the Prussians, who had out-manœuvred Grouchy, fell on the French right. They thus enabled the British to assume the offensive and to scatter the French army. In July the allies entered Paris. Napoleon abdicated in favour of his son and was sent a prisoner to St. Helena, where he died six years later.

§ 273. **Territorial Settlement of the Congress of Vienna.**—The allies then returned to the work of settlement which had been interrupted by "The Hundred Days'" campaign. The Bourbons were restored in France, in Spain, and in the Two Sicilies, and France was reduced to its boundaries of 1790; Austria received the Venetian territories in North Italy; Prussia was compensated for the loss of part of her Polish possessions by the acquisition of Pomerania, part of Saxony, and some of the Rhine Provinces; the Netherlands, northern and southern, were created into a kingdom for the House of Orange; Sweden received Norway[1] in the place of Finland; the German lands formerly included in the Roman Empire were formed into a loose confederation under the presidency of the Emperor of Austria; and Great Britain retained Malta, Heligoland, Cape Colony and Mauritius.

Chronology of Chief Events.

1803–4. Second Maráthá War.
1803. Battles of Assaye and Argaum.
1803. War with Napoleon.
1804. Napoleon becomes Emperor.
1804. Pitt returns to power.
1805. Battle of Trafalgar.
1805. Battle of Austerlitz.
1805. Treaty of Pressburg.
1806. Death of Pitt.
1806. Ministry of All the Talents.
1806. Cape of Good Hope taken.
1806. End of Roman Empire.
1806. Battle of Jena.

[1] Taken from Denmark.

1806. The Berlin Decrees.
1807. Orders in Council.
1807. Milan Decrees.
1807. Battle of Friedland.
1807. Treaty of Tilsit.
1807. Bombardment of Copenhagen.
1808. Battles of Rorica and Vimiero.
1808. Convention of Cintra.
1809. Battle of Corunna.
1809. Battle of Wagram.
1809. Walcheren Expedition.
1809. Battle of Talavera.
1811. Battle of Albuera.
1812. Battle of Salamanca.
1812–14. War with America.
1812. Napoleon enters Moscow.
1813. Battle of Leipsig.
1813. Battle of Vittoria.
1814. Treaty of Ghent.
1814. Battle of Toulouse.
1814. Abdication of Napoleon.
1814. First Treaty of Paris.
1814–15. Congress of Vienna.
1815. Battle of Waterloo.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Roman Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform, 1815–1837.

George IV. (1820–30), born 1762; married (1) Mary Anne Fitzherbert, 1785 (a marriage illegal under the *Royal Marriage Act* of 1772); (2) Caroline of Brunswick, 1795; died 1830.

William IV. (1830–7), third son of George III.; born 1765; married Adelaide of Saxe-Meiningen, 1818; succeeded, 1830; died, 1837.

CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

PAPACY.	FRANCE.	SPAIN.	AUSTRIA.	PRUSSIA.	RUSSIA.	TURKEY.
Pius VII. (1800) Leo XII. (1823) Pius VIII. (1829–1830) Gregory XVI. (1831–1846)	Louis XVIII. (1814) Charles X. (1824–1830) Revolution of July Louis Philippe (1830–1848)	Ferdinand VII. (1808) Isabella II. (1833–1868)	Francis I. (1804) [= Francis II., H.R.E. 1792–1806] Ferdinand I. (1835–1848)	Frederick William III. (1797–1840)	Alexander I. (1801) Nicholas I. (1825–1855)	Mahmoud II. (1808–1839) [Mehemet Ali Pasha of Egypt, 1811–1849] Otto, King of Greece (1832–1862)

§ 274. **Political Situation after the Great War.**—For thirty years after the battle of Waterloo there were no great wars in Europe. But it was not in any real sense a time of peace. In almost every European state there was both political and social unrest. The growing desire of the middle and lower classes to have a voice in government was producing agitation, revolution, and disorder in most countries. At the same time the heavy financial burdens of the late war had increased the widespread sufferings of the poor, due originally to economic causes and industrial

changes. In 1820 revolutions broke out in Portugal, Spain, and Naples, and during the next two years the Great Powers met in various congresses to concert a policy of repression.

But the Government of Great Britain was too fully occupied in repressing disorder at home to take a leading part in these congresses. The English difficulties were almost wholly due to economic causes; wages were low, while taxes and the price of food were high. To protect the agricultural classes from foreign competition a new *Corn Law* was passed in 1815. It forbade the importation of grain until the home supply had reached famine prices.[1] But the benefit of these high prices went almost wholly to the landlords and the farmers, not to the labourers. The conditions of life in the new factory towns were horrible. Misery led to discontent, to agitation for political reforms, and to riot.

The ministers could see no remedy for the evil but repression. In 1817 they suspended the *Habeas Corpus Act*, and in 1819 an attempt made by the Manchester magistrates to arrest "Orator Hunt" and to disperse an illegal meeting in St. Peter's Fields led to the "Peterloo massacre." The public unrest increased, and Sidmouth in the *Six Acts* passed repressive measures which gave the magistrates summary power to disarm agitators and to repress public meetings or seditious libels. But in the same year Peel carried an Act for the resumption of cash payments, and affairs began to mend.

§ 275. **Death of George III. and Accession of George IV., 1820.**—In 1820 George III. died and was succeeded by his eldest son. There was no alteration in policy, but the change to some extent weakened the Government. George III., with all his faults, had been devoted to what

[1] In 1815, wheat was not allowed to be imported until English wheat stood at 80*s.* a quarter. In later years the prices varied.

he believed to be the interests of his subjects; and his unremitting attention to duty had undoubtedly aggravated his mental malady. It was impossible not to respect the single-minded uprightness of his character. It was equally impossible to admire his son. In 1820 a scheme to murder the ministers, known as the Cato Street Conspiracy, showed an increasing dislike for the Government, which was further discredited by the support which it gave to the King's vain attempt to divorce his wife, Caroline of Brunswick. The nation took the Queen's part, but Caroline herself did much to destroy her popularity before she died a year later. Between 1821 and 1823, Peel, Canning, and Huskisson joined the Liverpool ministry, and brought with them newer and more liberal ideas.

§ 276. **Huskisson's Commercial Policy and the Foreign Policy of Canning, 1822–1827.**—Huskisson's aim, as President of the Board of Trade, was not to make and keep his country self-supporting, but to enrich it by entering more fully into international commerce. To enable British manufacturers to compete with foreigners, Huskisson lowered or abolished the duties on raw materials, especially silk and wool. By his Reciprocity of Duties Act (1823), he modified the navigation laws by giving better terms to countries which facilitated the entrance of British goods and shipping than to those which aimed at the complete exclusion of foreigners; and he repealed old laws regulating wages and restricting the movements and combinations of workmen. At the same time Peel began a reform of criminal law; and gradually procured the abolition of many barbarous punishments previously inflicted for petty crimes.

When Canning became Foreign Secretary the balance of power in Europe seemed stable. But in point of fact a new peril was at hand. It was possible that one of the great Powers might increase her own strength under cover of

putting down disorder. To the fear of such an event Canning added a particular distrust of Russia. On the whole he continued Castlereagh's policy of non-intervention, though he sometimes intervened to prevent the interference of other states. He allowed France to restore the Bourbon king, Ferdinand VII., to his full power in Spain (1823). But when Russia proposed to help the King of Spain to reconquer his revolted colonies in South America, Canning joined President Monroe of the United States in forbidding European interference in America. And when France meditated the restoration of order in Portugal, Canning, by sending a fleet to the Tagus, compelled her to give up the project (1826).

In 1821, when the Greeks revolted against the oppressive government of the Turks,[1] Canning refused to interfere. He would not allow Russia, while ostensibly helping the Greeks, to strengthen her hold on Turkey. But when the Sultan obtained the help of the Pasha of Egypt, and an Egyptian army and fleet began to reconquer the Morea, he was induced to intervene. By the *Treaty of London* he joined France and Russia for the protection of the Greeks, and after the destruction of the Egyptian fleet in the harbour of Navarino by the allies (1827), the independence of Greece was practically achieved.

§ 277. **Ministry of Wellington, 1828–1830.**—Canning was Prime Minister for a few months after the retirement of Lord Liverpool, but he died before the battle of Navarino was fought. After his death Goderich formed a ministry, but soon resigned in favour of the Duke of Wellington. Wellington was a Tory by conviction, but his ministry was marked by two measures which his friends regarded as revolutionary. In 1828 the Government allowed

[1] The poet Byron died while fighting for Grecian independence at Missolonghi.

a Bill repealing the *Corporation* and *Test Acts* in so far as they applied to Dissenters to be passed. This was not a very progressive measure, since the Dissenters had already been freed from the penalties enforced by these statutes (p. 233). But the *Roman Catholic Relief Act*[1] of 1829 was much more revolutionary.

Only a short time before Wellington had refused to hold office under Canning because he was an advocate of Roman Catholic Emancipation. Dread of civil war compelled him to change his policy, though not his views. The successful agitation of a "Catholic Association" in Ireland, under the leadership of Daniel O'Connell, left the ministry no alternative. Wellington and Peel, in carrying their measure, estranged many of their supporters; and they alienated others by refusing to countenance proposals for parliamentary reform. The Tory party had divided into two—one section believed that reform was desirable or inevitable, the other held that a change was undesirable and not immediately necessary. In June 1830, George IV. died, and was succeeded by his brother William, the genial, but eccentric "Sailor King."[2]

§ 278. **The Year of Revolutions and the Reform Bill, 1830–1832.**—The year of William IV.'s accession was a "year of revolution" in many parts of Europe. Charles X. was expelled from France, and after an interval the people elected his distant cousin, Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, as "King of the French." The inhabitants of the Southern Netherlands rose against the Dutch, and were ultimately allowed to form an independent kingdom of

[1] The Act admitted Roman Catholics, on taking a new oath instead of the Oath of Supremacy, to both Houses of Parliament, to all corporate bodies, to all lay judicial offices, and to all political offices except those of Regent, Lord Chancellor in England and Ireland, and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

[2] George IV.'s only daughter, the popular Princess Charlotte, had died a year after her marriage with Leopold of Saxe-Coburg.

Belgium. There were minor movements against the administrative system of Metternich in Germany; and the Poles rose against Russia, only to be subjugated in the following year. In England the revolution was of a bloodless kind. Wellington resigned, and his successor, Lord Grey, advocated reform, not on abstract principles, but because he believed that it was the only way by which civil wars and tumults, such as those which were convulsing continental states at that time, could be avoided. In 1831 Lord John Russell introduced a Reform Bill into the House of Commons; but before it could become law the Government was defeated in committee, and resolved to "appeal to the country." Parliament was dissolved, and the new elections resulted in a great increase in the majority of the Government.

The second Reform Bill, introduced by Russell and Stanley, passed the House of Commons, but was rejected by the Lords. The excitement in the country was intense. Meetings were held in all parts in favour of the Bill. At one of these a resolution was passed to pay no taxes until the Bill became law; another resulted in serious riots. A third Bill was then introduced. It passed the Commons, but its fate in the House of Lords was uncertain. The ministers asked the King to create enough peers to carry the Bill through, and when he refused they resigned. The Duke of Wellington, however, tried in vain to form an administration pledged to a more moderate scheme of reform, and the King had to take back the Grey administration, promising to create peers or do anything else that should be necessary to get the Bill through. The Lords gave way to pressure, and the Bill became law in June 1832.

The Bill took 143 seats away from "rotten boroughs"—that is to say, boroughs that had decayed until they had few or no voters left—and gave them to the towns which

had sprung up since the Industrial Revolution. It arranged the representation generally on the basis of population and extended the franchise, giving votes not only to a larger number of people, but also to the middle classes, which hitherto had not been admitted to a share in the government; and it finally made the qualification for admission to the franchise uniform in all counties and boroughs.[1]

§ 279. **The Work of the Reformed Parliament, 1832–1835.**—The results of the Reform Act appeared in the Parliament which met in 1833. The Whigs had a very decided majority.[2] But in attempting to satisfy the demands of its Irish and Radical supporters for further reforms, the Government alienated many of its friends, and became divided against itself. It nevertheless achieved some useful work. It abolished the Slave Trade in the Colonies and emancipated the slaves; and it passed various measures for the relief and improvement of classes in the United Kingdom. In 1833 it began the practice of making parliamentary grants for the education of the children of the poor. In the same year, at the instance of Lord Ashley, afterwards Lord Shaftesbury, an Act was passed limiting the employment of children in factories, and establishing inspectors to see that the provisions of the Act were carried out.

In 1834 the administration of Lord Grey broke up over a question concerning the management of the funds of the Irish Church. Lord Grey was succeeded by Lord Melbourne, whose short tenure of office is famous because it saw the

1 Substance of Reform Bill:—

(i) Redistribution of Seats: 143 seats are taken away from "rotten boroughs" and given to hitherto unrepresented towns, such as Leeds and Birmingham, to counties, to Ireland (5), and to Scotland (8).

(ii) Franchise: (1) *In Boroughs*, the old and various systems are replaced by a uniform £10 household franchise; (2) *in Counties*, the old freehold voters are supplemented by copyholders, leaseholders, and the more important tenants at will.

2 There were less than 150 Tories.

passing of the *Poor Law Amendment Act.* A little later William IV., under the impression that the Melbourne ministry could supply no capable leader for the House of Commons, dismissed the Prime Minister and put Peel in his place. Peel's administration, since the House of Commons was largely Whig, lasted two months only. It is important, because Sir Robert Peel's failure to remain in power clearly showed that the influence of the Sovereign had declined since 1807. Lord Melbourne returned to office with most of his former colleagues. Lord John Russell was Home, and Lord Palmerston Foreign, Secretary. Lord John Russell introduced a useful measure in the *Municipal Reform Act,* which removed the effects of the Stuart interference with the corporations and established a uniform representative government in towns.

§ 280. **Foreign Policy of Lord Palmerston, 1830–1837.** —Lord Palmerston first became Foreign Secretary in 1830. While the rest of the Cabinet was absorbed in Parliamentary Reform he was trying to direct the revolutionary movements of Europe by means of the British fleet. He was opposed to the arbitrary and reactionary policy of Metternich, and a supporter of all struggles for constitutional government. He helped the Belgians to assert their independence, and, in both Spain and Portugal, he upheld the existing governments against conservative and reactionary parties. As a rule his policy inclined him to support France against Austria, Prussia, and Russia; and France assisted him in his Peninsular policy.

§ 281. **British India and the close of the Reign.**— William IV. died in 1837. His reign was chiefly remarkable for great social and constitutional changes, and for the birth of an important religious movement, known from the place of its origin as the Oxford movement, or, from its method of appealing to the public by tracts, as the

Tractarian movement. The leaders of this movement, John Keble, Henry Newman, Edward Pusey, and Hugh James Rose, laid more stress on the claims of the Church of England to be a branch of the Catholic Church than on its Protestant aspects. It was a High Church movement, and some of its ablest supporters, notably Newman and Manning, afterwards joined the Church of Rome.

But the skilful foreign policy of Palmerston and some striking colonial developments gave the reign external as well as internal importance. While George III. was king the Third Maráthá War had resulted in the annexation of the Maráthá lands to the Bombay Presidency and to the Central Provinces. Under his successor the First Burmese War ended in the acquisition of Assam and the maritime provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim. In the meantime, under the governorship of Lord William Bentinck, considerable improvements were effected in the administration of India. He prohibited a terrible practice of the natives, the burning of widows at their husbands' funerals, and he encouraged missionary enterprise and education.

Chronology of Chief Events.

1817. Suspension of Habeas Corpus Act.
1819. Peterloo Massacre.
1819. Sidmouth's Six Acts.
1820. Accession of George IV.
1820. Cato Street Conspiracy.
1827. Treaty of London.
1827. Battle of Navarino.
1828. Partial Repeal of Test and Corporation Acts.
1829. Catholic Emancipation Act
1830. Accession of William IV.
1831–2. Reform Acts.
1833. Abolition of Slavery.
1833. First Education Act.
1833. Factory Act.
1834. Poor Law Amendment Act.
1835. Municipal Reform Act.

BOOK X.

The Earlier part of the Victorian Age, 1837–1870.

Introduction.

§ 282. **Retrospect, 1793–1837.**—In our last book we saw Great Britain involved in two great struggles. Between 1793 and 1815 she maintained her existence, and extended her power by land and sea, in the face of a succession of hostile governments in France. In the years of peace which followed Great Britain was occupied with the economic and political troubles which arose out of the Great War, and, during this period, the attention of British statesmen was chiefly directed to the British Isles.

§ 283. **Europe during the Victorian Era, 1837–1870.**—In Europe the most important feature of the age was the growth of the idea of nationality. Before the accession of Victoria the principle of nationality had been asserted by the Greeks and by the Belgians. In her time it was further asserted by the establishment of an Italian kingdom, and by steps towards the formation of a German Empire. But in the Balkans and in Ireland the national movements failed.

§ 284. **Economic Features of the Victorian Era.**—During the nineteenth century two conflicting ideals controlled the commercial policy of nations. One, the policy of Free Trade, was the outcome of the belief that free competition and unrestricted exchange between countries can best and most cheaply supply the needs of the people.

The other, the policy of Protection, aimed at increasing the amount of production at home by raising barriers against foreign goods. In the middle of the century Great Britain adopted Free Trade, and it was expected that other countries would imitate her economic as they were already imitating her political ideals. But most other states—even the self-governing colonies of Great Britain—have maintained a policy of Protection. Meanwhile, improved means of communication (by cheap posts and telegraphs) and of transport (by railways and steamships) greatly facilitated and extended both internal and external commerce.

§ 285. **Political Features of the Victorian Era.**—The nineteenth century was the golden age of democracy—the idea of "government *of* the people *by* the people *for* the people." In purely insular politics the chief landmark of the democratic movement, between 1837 and 1870, was the Parliamentary Reform Act of 1867. In imperial politics the great landmarks have been the grants of self-government to the larger and more prosperous of the colonies of Great Britain which are situated in temperate climates; in particular to Canada, and to the chief Australian colonies.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Peel and the Corn Laws, 1837–1845.

Alexandrina Victoria, only child of Edward, Duke of Kent, fourth son of George III., and Victoria Mary Louisa of Saxe-Coburg, was born 1819; succeeded, 1837; married her cousin Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, 1840; died, 1901.

CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

PAPACY.	FRANCE.	SPAIN.	ITALY.	AUSTRIA.	PRUSSIA.	RUSSIA.
Gregory XIV. (1831)	Louis Philippe (1830)	Isabella II. (1833–1868)	Victor Emmanuel II. of Sardinia (1849), of Italy (1861)	Ferdinand I. (1835)	Frederick William III. (1797)	Nicholas I. (1825)
Pius IX. (1846)	Second Republic (1848)	Amadeus I. (1870–1873)	Humbert (1878)	Francis Joseph (1848)	Frederick William IV. (1840) William I. (1861) German Emperor (1871)	Alexander II. (1855)
	Napoleon III. Emperor (1852)					
	Third Republic (1870)					

§ 286. **Accession of Victoria, 1837.**—William IV. was succeeded in Hanover[1] by his brother Ernest, Duke of Cumberland; in England by his niece Victoria. The new sovereign was only eighteen at her accession, but she was naturally able, and her widowed mother, the Duchess of Kent, had given her an excellent education. She was fortunate in her first minister, Lord Melbourne, who tactfully imparted to her the duties of a constitutional sovereign. She was still more fortunate in her marriage to

[1] Where the Salic Law prevailed.

her cousin Albert of Saxe-Coburg. His self-control, self-abnegation, and absolute devotion to duty made him an ideal Prince Consort in a land where aliens were still regarded with suspicion.

§ 287. **Colonial Policy of the Melbourne Ministry, 1837-1841.**—The outlook was gloomy at the moment of Victoria's accession. Recent reform had diminished, but had not removed, the causes of social discontent. Many of the Queen's subjects were still living in miserable conditions, overworked, underpaid, insufficiently fed, and inadequately clothed and housed. Serious troubles were threatening in the East, and the British colonies in Canada and South Africa were on the verge of rebellion. In 1791 Pitt had endeavoured to put a stop to the friction between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant inhabitants of Canada by passing an Act which divided the country into two provinces: Quebec or Lower Canada, which was mainly French, and Ontario or Upper Canada, which was entirely Protestant and English.

But the quarrels continued, and in addition the inhabitants of Canada were chafing under the restrictions which had been imposed on their legislative assemblies by Pitt's Act. In 1838 Lord Durham was sent out to deal with the difficulty. He put down the rebellion in rather an arbitrary fashion, and he issued a report recommending that the colonists should be allowed to govern themselves. The mother-country was only to be represented by a governor, who acted as constitutional sovereign, and who was not to interfere with the colonial representative assembly except where the interests of the mother-country were involved. Lord Durham's conduct and report excited the most vehement condemnation, and he was recalled. The principles of his report were, nevertheless, to a very large extent adopted. The *Canada Act of Union* (1840) was the first of a

long series of measures granting full powers of self-government to such colonies as appeared both able and willing to undertake the responsibility. In the meantime the Great Trek of the Boers, or Dutch farmers, in South Africa had begun. The Boers resented the abolition of slavery in 1833, and resolved to emigrate. They formed settlements north of the Orange River and in Natal. Sir George Napier, Governor of Cape Colony, however, denied that the Boers could be absolved from their allegiance as British subjects by emigration, and in 1843 took formal possession of Natal.

§ 288. **Foreign Policy of Lord Melbourne's Last Ministry.**—In 1839 a fresh contest broke out between the Sultan of Turkey and the Pasha of Egypt, and threatened to involve England and France in war. Lord Palmerston was in favour of Turkey, while France was inclined at first to support Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt. After the British had bombarded Acre, Mehemet Ali was compelled to withdraw from Syria and to accept the hereditary rule of Egypt in compensation. In the meantime Great Britain's suspicions of Russia's policy in Asia were leading her into serious error and disaster. Believing that Dost Muhammad Khan, Amír of Afghánistán, was more favourably disposed towards Russia than to Great Britain, and that Russian friendship with Afghánistán threatened the British Empire in India, Lord Auckland, Governor-General in India, deposed Dost Muhammad and placed a former ruler, Sháh Shujá, on the throne. But Sháh Shujá was not well received by his former subjects. He was murdered, and a rising broke out which compelled the British force to abandon Kábul. Of the sixteen thousand troops and camp followers who began the retreat to India only one, Dr. Brydon, reached Jellalabad. The rest were annihilated by the treacherous Afghans on the way to the Khoord Kábul Pass, or as they passed

through it. Though the disaster was avenged, the British thought it wise to restore Dost Muhammad to the throne.

About the same time Great Britain embarked on a war with China. China disliked and prohibited the importation of opium by Western merchants. As their prohibition of the trade was disregarded, the Chinese in 1839 confiscated six million pounds' worth of opium, the property of British merchants. The result was a war in which the British were easily victorious. China paid an indemnity for the opium and for the cost of the war, threw open Canton and four other "treaty-ports" to British trade, and ceded the island of Hong-Kong to Great Britain.

§ 289. **Political and Social Unrest in Great Britain and Ireland, and Repeal of the Corn Laws, 1841–1846.**—In the early years of Victoria two distinct remedies for the misery of the poor were proposed. Those who believed that the people could redress their own grievances, if they were given more political power, drew up a document known as the People's Charter, advocating annual Parliaments, manhood suffrage, vote by ballot, equal electoral districts, the abolition of a property qualification for members of Parliament, and the payment of members. The supporters of this petition were known as Chartists, and in 1839 the more violent of them were guilty of serious riots. The other remedy proposed was to reduce the price of food by the abolition of the Corn Laws.

In 1839 an Anti-Corn Law League was formed in Manchester by Richard Cobden and Charles Villiers, both Lancashire men. A few years later they were joined by John Bright, whose eloquence was of much service to the cause. The Anti-Corn Law League rapidly effected a change in public opinion. In 1841, Lord Melbourne's ministry, being defeated on a question of Free Trade, resigned, and was succeeded by that of Sir Robert Peel.

Four years later the new Prime Minister announced his conversion to the principles of the Anti-Corn Law League. Events in Ireland were partly responsible for the alteration in his views. An agitation led by O'Connell for the repeal of the Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland had already ceased to be formidable, but the Irish difficulties were by no means over; and in 1845 the prospect of a potato famine in Ireland caused widespread alarm.

In 1846 Sir Robert Peel secured the repeal of the Corn Laws. He thereby gave incalculable relief to the poorer classes in the United Kingdom and mitigated the sufferings of the Irish in the expected famine. A few days later Peel's Government was defeated over an Irish Coercion Bill, and fell, leaving a great record behind it.

§ 290. **Important Events at Home and Abroad, 1837–1846.**—The period of time covered by the ministries of Lord Melbourne and Sir Robert Peel saw other events, less important but by no means insignificant, both at home and abroad. In 1839 Rowland Hill's scheme for a penny postage was adopted, and about the same time the electric-telegraph came into use. In Scotland the National Church was divided upon the question of patronage, and a section of it under Dr. Chalmers became the "Free Church of Scotland." In the East Sir Charles Napier conquered and annexed Sindh on the lower Indus. The Sikhs, who lived higher up in the basin of the Indus, were less easily conquered. But after being defeated by Sir Hugh Gough at Moodkee, by Sir Harry Smith at Aliwal, and by both generals together at Sobraon, they agreed to admit a British resident into their capital at Lahore.

Chronology of Chief Events.

1838–40. Electric Telegraph.
1839. Penny Postage.
1839. Chartist Riots.
1839. Anti-Corn Law League.
1838–42. First Afghan War.
1839–42. First Chinese War.
1840. Canada Act of Union.
1841. Second Ministry of Sir Robert Peel.
1842. Annexation of Sindh.
1843. Formation of Free Church of Scotland.
1843. Natal annexed.
1845–6. Sikh War.
1845–6. Failure of Irish potato crop.
1846. Repeal of Corn Laws.
1846. Ministry of Lord John Russell.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Palmerston and Derby, 1846–1865.

Personal History of Victoria } See previous Chapter.
Contemporary Rulers }

§ 291. **Ireland and the Chartists, 1846–1848.**—Lord John Russell succeeded Sir Robert Peel as Prime Minister. Though the Corn Laws had been repealed, his ministry had still to face agitation and rebellion both in Ireland and in England. Sedition had been increased in Ireland by the repressive measures which had followed the passing of a new *Coercion Act;* and in 1848 there was a short-lived rebellion under Smith O'Brien, the leader of the more violent section of the agitators who supported the "Young Ireland" movement.[1] In the same year there was a futile demonstration in England. Feargus O'Connor declared his intention of marching at the head of half-a-million men from Kennington to Westminster to present the *People's Charter* to the House of Commons. London was panic-stricken. Prompt measures were taken for the defence of the city and the preservation of order, but, to the relief of the inhabitants, their fears proved groundless. Comparatively few of the Chartists assembled and the procession was not formed.

§ 292. **Lord Palmerston and Foreign Politics.**—In 1848 there were revolutions in France, Austria and Germany.

[1] The "Young Ireland" movement had sprung up about the same time as O'Connell's agitation for the repeal of the Act of Union. The Young Irelanders desired the adoption of English methods of politics and industries.

The Austrian rebellions resulted in the downfall of Metternich, and in various German states the people gained important powers. In France Louis Philippe was expelled for refusing to extend the franchise, and a Republic was set up, with Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, a nephew of Napoleon, as President. In 1851 Louis Napoleon, in order to secure his position as President, seized and imprisoned his political opponents and put down all resistance with bloodshed. Lord Palmerston privately expressed an unauthorised approval of Louis Napoleon's deed to the French ambassador. His action violated the strict neutrality observed by the Government; it was both unguarded and unstatesmanlike, and Lord John Russell at once compelled Palmerston to resign. This dismissal of the Foreign Secretary by the Prime Minister marks the final acceptance of the constitutional principle that ministers must act in harmony.

§ 293. **Home Politics and the Great Exhibition, 1847–1852.**—The most important measure passed by Lord John Russell's ministry was Fielden's *Factory Act*, which limited the working day of women and children in factories to ten hours. At the same time the *Navigation Laws* were repealed. The most representative event of the period was the Great Exhibition held in Hyde Park in 1851. It was first proposed by Prince Albert, and mainly successful through his efforts. The "Works of All Nations" were exhibited in a glass and iron building, constructed for the purpose by Paxton, and afterwards transferred to Sydenham, where it still stands as the "Crystal Palace." The object of the Exhibition was to show the world the blessings of peace and to mark the close of wars among civilised nations. The popularity of the Exhibition was great; its object was less easy to attain.

Early in 1852 Palmerston secured his revenge on Lord

John Russell by defeating him on a verbal amendment to a Bill. The Russell ministry went out, and was succeeded by that of Lord Derby. This consisted of the Protectionist Conservatives, who only obtained a majority by abandoning their Protection policy, and even so, were defeated before the close of the year. A Coalition ministry, which included both liberals and Peelites (free-trading conservatives), next came into office, with Lord Aberdeen as Prime Minister, Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord John Russell as Foreign Secretary, and Lord Palmerston as Home Secretary.

§ 294. **The Colonial Policy of Great Britain, 1850–1854.** —In the meantime the Colonial policy, which originated with Lord Durham's Report, was being extended from Canada to the Australian Colonies. By the Australian Colonies Act of 1850, New South Wales,[1] South Australia,[2] and Victoria,[3] received responsible self-government. Each was placed under the control of a governor appointed by, and representing the Crown, who, however, had to rule by the advice of the colonial representative assembly. Western Australia[4] was still too backward to receive similar powers; and Van Dieman's Land (afterwards known as Tasmania) was too full of convicts or ex-convicts. New Zealand,[5] which is wholly different in climate and population from Australia, received a constitution in 1852.

The policy of the Russell and Aberdeen ministries in South Africa was less successful than in Australia. Sir Harry Smith formally annexed the region between the Orange and Vaal rivers as the Orange River Sovereignty, and defeated at Boomplatz a minority of the emigrant Boers who were averse to British rule. He also brought

1 Founded 1878. 2 Founded 1836.
3 Separated from the mother colony of New South Wales in 1850.
4 Founded 1829. 5 Formally annexed 1839.

to a successful conclusion wars against the Kaffirs and the Basutos. But before he left he was compelled to make the *Sand River Convention*, which recognised the independence of the Boers north of the river Vaal; and after his departure the *Convention of Bloemfontein* conferred a similar independence on the Boers who dwelt between the Transvaal and Basutoland.

In India Lord Dalhousie's Governor-Generalship forms one of the great landmarks in the history of British rule in the East. He firmly repressed all corrupt and ineffective government, inaugurated great public works, such as canals and railways and annexed the Punjab, Pegu, and Oudh. The Punjab, which was annexed only after the Sikhs had been defeated in hard-fought battles at Chilianwallah and Gújerat, was so well organised by John and Henry Lawrence that the Sikhs proved the staunchest allies of the British in the Indian Mutiny.

§ 295. **The Crimean War, 1854–1856.**—In 1854 Great Britain embarked on a war with Russia. The war rose primarily out of the desire of Russia to increase her hold on Turkey, and of Louis Napoleon, now Emperor of the French under the title of Napoleon III., to strengthen his position by a brilliant foreign policy. The actual occasion of the war was the Russian claim to a protectorate over the Christian subjects of the Sultan, which, if acknowledged, would have made the latter no longer master in his own dominions. Great Britain induced the Sultan to reject terms which would practically have admitted this claim, and joined France in a war on behalf of Turkish independence.

A British fleet blockaded the Russian ports on the Baltic; a joint fleet bombarded Odessa; and a joint army was sent to the Crimea for the purpose of besieging the Russian arsenal of Sebastopol. The allies defeated the Russians at

the Alma (September), and began the attack on Sebastopol. The British drew their supplies from Balaclava, and it was in defending that port against the Russians that the famous charge of the Light Brigade occurred (October 25, 1854). "Some one had blundered"[1]; an order was misunderstood, and what actually happened was never known, but the Light Brigade charged a Russian army, and comparatively few returned from the charge. Ten days later the Russians were defeated at Inkerman. The British victories were the result of hard fighting, not good generalship; and winter, when it came, showed defects in organisation more serious in their consequences than the lack of skilful generals. The mortality of the British troops from cold and hunger was enormous.

The sufferings of her army were made known to Great Britain by an able War Correspondent,[2] Russell, in the pages of the *Times*, and a storm of indignation against the ministry followed the exposure. Lord Aberdeen resigned, and Lord Palmerston became Prime Minister. Even before the change had been made, Florence Nightingale was sent out to reorganise the hospital service at Scutari; and Palmerston speedily restored order in the Crimea itself. In the following year the King of Sardinia joined France and Great Britain, the Czar Nicholas died of grief at the failure of his troops, Sebastopol fell (September 1855), and the Czar Alexander II. asked for peace. The result was a compromise known as the *Peace of Paris*.

§ 296. **The Persian and Chinese Wars and the Indian Mutiny, 1856–1857.**—In 1856 Persia, which was already falling under the influence of Russia, captured Herat, but was speedily compelled by a British demonstration in the Persian Gulf to abandon it to the Amír of Afghánistán.

[1] Tennyson, *The Charge of the Light Brigade.*
[2] War Correspondents were then an innovation.

At the same time a Chinese official seized the lorcha *Arrow*, a boat unlawfully sailing under British colours. This "insult to the British flag" was punished by the bombardment of Canton. A second Chinese war followed, in which France took part. The joint French and British forces by occupying Canton and by capturing Peking compelled China to confirm the *Treaty of Tientsin*, made in 1858, which opened China not only to opium traders but also to ambassadors and missionaries.

In the meantime a mutiny had broken out among the native troops of India and been subdued, the forces on the way to China having been arrested by Lord Canning for the purpose of suppressing it. The native princes were irritated by Lord Dalhousie's annexations, the large landowners were annoyed by recent land settlements, and the sepoys[1] were driven to rebellion by a belief that the paper in which the cartridges supplied to them were wrapped was greased by a mixture of cow's fat and hog's lard. The Hindoo sepoy, to whom the cow was sacred, believed that he was committing a profanation; the Muhammadan, who regarded the pig with abhorrence, imagined that he was being defiled. The English rulers under-estimated both the tenacity of their belief in the rumour about the grease, and also the depth of the religious feelings which had been aroused. But they were soon undeceived.

In May, 1857, some of the native regiments in the North-West Provinces of India broke into open mutiny at Meerut and shot their officers. Bengal, however, and the greater part of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies remained quiet; and the Sikhs of the Punjab gave active help to the British. The main incidents in the struggle were the massacre of Cawnpore and the sieges of Delhi and Lucknow. The Europeans of Cawnpore, after a

[1] Natives, trained and employed as soldiers by Europeans.

month's siege, surrendered and were butchered. At Delhi, where a descendant of the Moguls had been set up as Emperor, the mutineers themselves were besieged by troops from the Punjab under John Nicholson. At Lucknow a handful of British troops, under Sir Henry Lawrence, held the ill-fortified Residency from May till September, when they were relieved by Sir Henry Havelock. They were then enabled to hold out until Lord Clyde brought them away in November. The following March Clyde re-occupied Lucknow, and in June the mutiny was finally crushed by the capture of Gwalior. The Indian army was re-organised and the administration of India transferred from the Company to the Crown. The control of British India was placed in the hands of a new Secretary of State, who was represented in India by a Governor-General. Lord Canning, the successor of Lord Dalhousie, was thus the first Governor-General who can be called Viceroy of India.

§ 297. **Home Policy under the Derby and Palmerston Administrations, 1858–1865.**—Before the Indian Mutiny was suppressed Lord Palmerston, having suffered a defeat over the *Conspiracy to Murder Bill*, had been succeeded by Lord Derby as Prime Minister. The *India Bill* was in fact the work of the new administration. The second Derby ministry contained Disraeli and Lord Cranborne, afterwards Marquis of Salisbury. It supported the Volunteer movement which was inspired by fear of France, admitted Jews to Parliament, and abolished property qualifications for membership. The ministers were defeated over a *Reform Bill*, in which Disraeli proposed to supplement the usual household qualifications by qualifications resting on education and savings. A General Election failed to give the ministers a majority in the House of Commons, Lord Derby resigned and Palmerston returned to power. His

last ministry, only ended by his death in 1865, was not remarkable in home politics, though it achieved an important success when it secured the abolition of the paper duty in 1861. In the same year the Prince Consort died, and the Queen, overpowered by grief, withdrew for a long time from public life.

§ 298. **Lord Palmerston, Europe and America, 1859–1865.**—While Lord Palmerston was in power in England, Italy became united under the rule of Victor Emmanuel, King of Sardinia. Count Cavour just induced Napoleon to aid the Sardinian king in driving the Austrians out of Lombardy. When this was done, Parma and Tuscany joined Sardinia, and an Italian patriot named Garibaldi put himself at the head of a rising which dethroned the Bourbon king of Naples and secured southern Italy for Victor Emmanuel.

But the most important event of Palmerston's second ministry was the Civil War in the United States of America. The northern and southern states in the Union were divided in origin, in climate, and in economic conditions, and when Abraham Lincoln was elected President in 1861 they finally quarrelled over questions of slavery and state-rights. The southern states receded from the Union, formed a confederation under Jefferson Davis, and seemed likely to establish their independence. The men of the northern states, who called themselves the Federals, blockaded the southern ports and so caused a cotton famine, which brought Lancashire to the verge of starvation and very nearly induced Great Britain to enter the contest. In 1862, when the *Alabama* was allowed to leave the Mersey and prey on commerce as a Confederate cruiser, Great Britain still more narrowly escaped war. But during the rest of the struggle she remained strictly neutral. In 1865 the Confederates were defeated and Palmerston died.

These two events mark the beginning of another epoch in the history of the nineteenth century.

Chronology of Chief Events.

1845-7. Irish Famine.
1847. Factory Act.
1848. Rebellion of Smith O'Brien.
1848. Chartist Petition and Demonstration.
1849. Annexation of Punjab.
1849. Repeal of Navigation Acts.
1850. Australian Colonies Act.
1851. Great Exhibition.
1852. First Ministry of Lord Derby.
1852. Aberdeen Coalition Ministry.
1852. Sand River Convention.
1852. Annexation of Pegu.
1854. Convention of Bloemfontein.
1854. Crimean War.
1855. Resignation of Aberdeen Coalition.
1855. Palmerston Ministry.
1855. Fall of Sebastopol.
1856. Annexation of Oudh.
1856. Peace of Paris.
1856. Persian War.
1857. Indian Mutiny.
1857-1860. Chinese War.
1858. Treaty of Tientsin.
1858. India Government Act.
1858. Second Derby Ministry.
1859. Palmerston's Second Ministry.
1860. Capture of Peking.
1861. Abolition of Paper Duty.
1861. Death of Prince Consort.
1861-5. American Civil War.

BOOK XI.

Later Victorian Age, and Beginning of Twentieth Century, 1865-1910.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 299. **Retrospect, 1837-1865.**—The first twelve years of Queen Victoria's reign had seen two great agitations—that in favour of Free Trade and that in favour of the Charter. In 1846 the old policy of Protection was abandoned, and the prosperity of the following years removed the discontent that had given strength to the Chartist movement. From 1850 to the end of this period there was no important question at issue between rival politicians, and no marked dividing line between the great political parties.

§ 300. **The Home Rule Movement.**—In the second half of the reign, and indeed to the present day, Ireland was the subject of incessant controversy. All through the sixties there had been risings and outrages in Ireland, and both parties, Liberal and Conservative, had tried to check them by a policy of repression. But in 1868 Gladstone declared that Irish discontent was due to real grievances, and he embarked on the policy of conciliation that was to carry him far in the next quarter of a century. First came the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Irish Church, 1869. This was followed by a Land Act in 1870, and again in 1881.

By these measures, which removed real ecclesiastical and agrarian injustices, Gladstone hoped to end Irish political discontent. But a powerful section of Irishmen was determined to have nothing less than the complete independence

of Ireland in the management of her internal affairs: and gradually Gladstone came to the conviction that only Home Rule would give rest to Ireland. In his earlier measures Gladstone, strongly opposed by the Conservatives, had carried the Liberal party with him; but by his Home Rule policy he broke up the Liberal party. Many of his followers deserted him and ultimately joined with the Conservatives to form a strong Unionist party. Home Rule, however, continues one of the dominant issues in politics.

§ 301. **Imperialism in Politics.**—A characteristic feature of the last thirty years has been the growth of the imperial spirit. It can be seen in different forms in many other countries, notably in Germany and the United States. In Great Britain it has manifested itself by an increasing pride in the Colonies and a desire to knit more closely the links that bind them to the Mother-country. The aid given by Colonial regiments in the South African war proved the loyalty of the Colonies and encouraged the imperialism of the Mother-country. Emigration from England to the Colonies has increased; conferences have been held in London to consider the inter-relations of the various parts of the Empire; and one aspect of the Tariff Reform movement which has been advocated by the Unionist party is that the proposed Tariff is to give preferential treatment to English Colonies and so promote increased commercial intercourse.

§ 302. **The Democratic Movement.**—It is only in the last few years that the full effect of the Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884 has been seen. The "wage-earning" classes who received the franchise by these measures were at first content to give their votes to the candidates put forward by the old Liberal or Conservative organisations. But at the general election of 1906 there were elected some 50 members, who sat expressly as representatives of labour and, although voting for many Liberal measures, owed no

allegiance to the Liberal party. This Labour group, detached from the old parties, may, when it is a little stronger in numbers and has thought out more clearly its policy, have a momentous effect on English political life.

§ 303. **Foreign Policy.**—England has engaged in no European War during these years. In the struggles with Austria and France which made Prussia and Germany the leading military powers of Europe, England remained neutral. And when after 1870 England, France, and Germany engaged in a scramble for territory in Africa, though there were many seasons of friction between the Powers, arbitration and the fear of war were sufficient to keep peace. In South Africa England waged a long war (1899-1902) with the Dutch Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State; and in India, Egypt, the Soudan, and West Africa we have had numerous little wars.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Disraeli and Gladstone, 1865-1885.

Personal History of Victoria. } See Chapter XXVI.
Contemporary Rulers. }

§ 304. **The Second Reform Act, 1867.**—Lord John, now Earl, Russell became the nominal leader of the Cabinet on Lord Palmerston's death, but it was Gladstone who exercised the chief influence in the Ministry. Early in 1866 Gladstone introduced a bill for extending the franchise. It was wrecked by a defeat of the Ministry on "a mere question of detail." Lord Russell's administration resigned and was succeeded by that of Lord Derby. Disraeli at once brought in a *Reform Bill.* After undergoing many transformations the measure became law. It effected a slight redistribution of seats as well as a very considerable extension of the franchise.[1] The new voters were mainly artisans, uneducated and ignorant of politics, and the bill excited great opposition, many persons maintaining that it was dangerous to give the people votes before they had been educated.

§ 305. **Foreign Events, the Colonies, and Ireland, 1868-1873.**—The year after Lord Russell's resignation was marked by a new departure in colonial policy. Constitutional difficulties in Canada and a desire for greater union in view of possible invasions from the United States led to proposals for Federation which were adopted in Lord

[1] It gave votes to adult male householders in towns and to lodgers paying a rent of not less than £10 a year for rooms unfurnished. In the counties it gave the franchise to all occupiers paying rates on an annual value of £12 or upwards.

Carnarvon's *British North America Act*. By this Act Upper and Lower Canada were again separated into Ontario and Quebec, and then loosely bound into a federal union with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick as the Dominion of Canada. Questions affecting the whole Dominion were to be settled in a "Dominion Parliament" meeting at Ottawa; in other respects each of the provinces was to have local self-government. The Dominion was joined later by Manitoba (1870), Columbia with Vancouver Island (1871), and Prince Edward Island (1873).

In 1868 Lord Derby resigned through ill-health and was succeeded by Disraeli. Abroad his short ministry saw the successful expedition of Sir Robert Napier to release some Europeans imprisoned at Magdala by Theodore, King of Abyssinia (1867-8); it was marked at home by a parliamentary contest with Gladstone about Irish questions. A revival of discontent in Ireland had been carefully fostered by the American Irish Society of Fenians. The Governments of Lord John Russell and Lord Derby had suspended the *Habeas Corpus Act* in Ireland, and the Fenians had retaliated by abortive risings in Ireland, a futile attempt to capture Chester, and an attempt to blow up Clerkenwell Prison, which killed nearly twenty people and wounded over a hundred, besides inflicting great damage on the houses in the vicinity.

In 1868 Gladstone, who maintained that the discontent was due to genuine grievances, both agrarian and ecclesiastical, carried a resolution in favour of the disestablishment of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Ireland, and Disraeli appealed to the country. The general election resulted in the return of a majority in favour of Gladstone, and Disraeli resigned.

§ 306. **Foreign and Colonial Affairs during Mr. Gladstone's Ministry, 1868-1874.**—Gladstone's Ministry included Lowe, Bright, Goschen, Cardwell, and W. E. Forster.

The chief event in the foreign history of this period was the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. Bismarck, the Prussian Minister, skilfully kept Great Britain and Russia neutral during the contest, and the war resulted in the overthrow of Napoleon III., the establishment of a third Republic in France, and the formation of a German Empire under the King of Prussia. In 1871 Great Britain entered into the *Treaty of Washington* with the United States, by which she agreed to submit to international arbitration[1] the question of the compensation due for the damages inflicted by the *Alabama*.

In the same year the British acquired Griqualand West in South Africa from the Griqua chief. In 1872 Cape Colony received responsible government, and further north the Dutch stations on the Gold Coast were acquired by the British Government. A war with the natives of Ashanti was brought to a successful close by Sir Garnet Wolseley in 1874. Five years earlier Ferdinand de Lesseps, a Frenchman, had completed the Suez Canal and thereby effected a revolution in the conditions of trade between Europe and the East.

§ 307. **Irish, English, and British Legislation of the Gladstone Ministry, 1868-1874.**—The main interest of the Gladstone Ministry lay in its ecclesiastical and civil reforms. Gladstone began by disestablishing and disendowing the Irish Church.[2] He next tried to provide a remedy for the grievances of the Irish peasantry by an *Irish Land Act*. At the same time Forster's *Elementary Education Act* went far towards giving England a system of national education. It provided for the formation of school boards with powers to levy rates for the erection and

[1] The Geneva tribunal awarded £3,000,000 damages to America, and the sum was promptly paid by Great Britain.

[2] The Irish Church ceased to be controlled or helped by the State, and Irish bishops ceased to sit in Parliament.

support of schools and to compel parents to send their children to school. Two years later the *Ballot Act* made voting secret in the hope that bribery and violence at elections would be thereby diminished. The Government also legalised Trade Unions and reorganised the War Office. In 1874 Gladstone appealed to the country for its opinion on his reforms. The elections resulted in a Conservative majority and he resigned.

§ 308. **Disraeli's Second Ministry and Foreign Policy, 1874-1880.**—The second Ministry of Disraeli was remarkably uneventful in home politics. Ireland was the most pressing difficulty. The "Home Rule League" having been formed to secure "the repeal of the Union" in 1873, first under Isaac Butt, later under Charles Stewart Parnell, controlled Irish Parliamentary representation, and, in order to compel attention to Irish grievances, obstructed all other business at Westminster. In 1879 Michael Davitt formed an "Irish Land League" with the intention of obtaining reductions of rent, and finally of getting rid of landlords altogether.

But Disraeli's foreign policy was striking enough to compensate for his lack of a home policy. He purchased the Khedive of Egypt's shares in the Suez Canal and thus obtained an effective control of the direct route to the Far East. He joined with France in deposing one Khedive in favour of another and established a dual control over Egypt. He passed an *Additional Titles Bill*, in virtue of which Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India; and his search for a "scientific frontier" in the North-West of India involved him in two Afghan Wars. In the first, or rather the Second Afghan War, an Amír who had received a Russian envoy was deposed in favour of one who consented to receive a British Resident at Kábul. But the murder of this British Resident a few months later led to a Third Afghan War, Lord Roberts' occupation of Kábul,

his famous march to Kandahar, and the establishment of yet another Amír on the throne of Afghánistán.

The suspicions of Russian policy which had prompted the Afghan wars were in the meantime bringing England to the verge of war with Russia nearer home. The "atrocities" committed by the Turks in repressing Christian risings in Herzegovina and Bulgaria (1875-76) led in 1877 to war between Russia and Turkey. Disraeli sent a fleet to protect Constantinople, and, when the war was ended by the defeat of the Turks and the *Treaty of San Stefano*, he called out the reserves of the British Army and brought Indian troops to Malta in order to compel Russia to submit the treaty to a European Congress at Berlin.

The resulting *Treaty of Berlin* made some of the Balkan States independent, gave Kars, Batoum, and Bessarabia to Russia, and the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austria-Hungary. The treaty further created a state of Bulgaria and a state of Eastern Roumelia, both of which were to enjoy much local independence under the Sultan. In return for an annual tribute and a guarantee of the independence of the Turkish dominions in Asia, Turkey agreed to hand over Cyprus to Great Britain.

In South Africa difficulties had arisen between the Transvaal Boers and native tribes on their borders; and the dangers, especially from the Zulus, to the white population were so evident that, after the annexation of the Transvaal in 1877, Sir Bartle Frere determined to break the Zulu power. The campaign was at first unsuccessful. A British contingent was overwhelmed at Isandhlwana; another narrowly escaped at Rorke's Drift in the Tugela River; and the Prince Imperial, son of Napoleon III., who was fighting as a volunteer for England, was slain a month before Lord Chelmsford stormed Ulundi, the Zulu capital, and took King Cetewayo prisoner. When the native peril was over the Boers

expected to be given their independence or the self-government promised them, but at this critical moment attention was diverted from them by a change of Ministry in England.

§ 309. **Gladstone's Second Ministry and Colonial and Irish Policy, 1880-1885.**—Disraeli, or the Earl of Beaconsfield as he had become in 1876, had not succeeded in securing the entire approval of the nation for his foreign policy. A general election in 1880 turned his party out of office and he died a year later. The Liberals came into power under the leadership of Gladstone. Towards the end of the year the Boers of the Transvaal proclaimed an independent republic under Paul Kruger and defeated a British force at Majuba Hill. Gladstone made a peace with them which, while recognising their independence, upheld the suzerainty of the Queen. But in 1884 this *Pretoria Convention* of 1881 was superseded by a *London Convention* in which no mention was made of the Queen's suzerainty.

Gladstone's great desire was to avoid war in order to secure economy and reform at home, but his aim was not easy to attain. War in the Transvaal was succeeded by war in Egypt, where the Egyptians, under the leadership of Arabi Pasha, an officer of the Egyptian army, made a determined attempt to shake off the "Dual Control" of France and England. As France would not move, Great Britain was compelled to restore order alone. Admiral Seymour bombarded and occupied Alexandria, and Wolseley defeated an Egyptian army and seized Cairo in 1882. In 1883 Muhammad Ahmad proclaimed himself the Mahdi, promised by the prophet Muhammad, who was to sweep away the rule of unbelievers from the earth; he won a general acceptance of his claims in the Sudan. In 1884 the British Government sent Charles Gordon to withdraw the Egyptian troops from the Sudan. He was shut up in

Khartum by the Mahdists, and the Government was compelled to attempt his rescue. After fatal delays and hesitations the British relieving force reached Khartum too late. The town had fallen, and Gordon, the hero of its defence, had been killed. British and Egyptian troops were then withdrawn, and the southern boundary of Egypt fixed at Wady Halfa.

In Ireland the Gladstone Ministry was also faced with embarrassing difficulties, owing to the action of the Home Rule and Land Leagues. Repression only resulted in further disorder, and in 1882 Gladstone came to terms with Parnell in order to secure the support of his followers. The immediate result was the retirement of the Viceroy of Ireland and the Chief Secretary for Ireland. A month later the new Chief Secretary, Lord Frederick Cavendish, and one of his staff were murdered in Phœnix Park, near Dublin, by some members of a club called "the Invincibles," the Home Rule leaders denying all responsibility. Under the rule of the new Viceroy, Earl Spencer, and of his Chief Secretary, Mr. (afterwards Sir) George Trevelyan, Ireland remained comparatively quiet.

The last work of the second Gladstone Ministry was to give votes to agricultural labourers by assimilating the country and borough franchise, and to effect a more equal redistribution of seats. The policy of the Government in South Africa, Egypt, and Ireland had not been generally regarded as either strong or wise. Its Budget proposals were defeated and it resigned (1885). This change of Ministry practically coincided with great changes in the constitutional and international politics of Great Britain.

Chronology of Chief Events.

Russell's Second Ministry.	1865.
Derby's Third Ministry.	1866.
Second Reform Act.	1867.
British North America Act	,,
Disraeli's First Ministry.	1868.
Gladstone's First Ministry.	,,
Completion of Suez Canal.	1869.
Disestablishment of Irish Church.	,,
Irish Land Act.	1870.
Elementary Education Act.	,,
Army Enlistment Act.	,,
Franco-Prussian War.	1870-71.
Treaty of Washington.	1871.
Trades Union Legislation.	,,
Ashanti War.	1872-74.
Ballot Act.	1872.
Supreme Court of Judicature Act.	1873.
Annexation of Fiji.	1874.
Disraeli's Second Ministry.	1874.
Additional Titles Bill.	1876.
Transvaal annexed.	1877.
Treaty of San Stefano.	1878.
Treaty of Berlin.	,,
Second Afghan War.	1878-9.
Third Afghan War.	1879-80.
Zulu War.	1879.
Gladstone's Second Ministry.	1880.
Majuba Hill.	1881.
Irish Land Act.	,,
Bombardment of Alexandria.	1882.
Franchise Act.	1884.
Redistribution of Seats Act.	1885.
Death of General Gordon.	,,
Relief of Khartum.	,,

CHAPTER XXX.

Democracy and Empire, 1885-1901.

Personal History of Victoria. } See Chapter XXVI.
Contemporary Rulers. }

§ 310. **Rapid Changes of Ministry, 1885-1895.**—After the resignation of Gladstone, Lord Salisbury formed a Conservative Ministry, which passed an Act authorising the formation of a Federal Council for Australia and an Act to encourage peasant proprietorship in Ireland. But a general election at the end of the year resulted in the return of the Liberals to office under Gladstone. The conversion of the Prime Minister to the doctrine of Home Rule for Ireland, however, alienated many of his followers. These formed the Liberal-Unionist party, which was strong enough to bring about the defeat of Gladstone's Home Rule Bill and the resignation of the Government. The Conservatives came back to power under Lord Salisbury, who himself took charge of foreign affairs, while his nephew, Arthur James Balfour, became Chief Secretary for Ireland. This administration saw the celebration of Queen Victoria's Jubilee and effected a number of domestic reforms, the most important being the improvement of Local Government and Free Education.

In the general election of 1892, Gladstone, the Liberals, and the Home Rulers were again victorious. During the next eighteen months several large measures were introduced, but only one, the *Parish Councils Act*, became law.[1] A *Home Rule Bill* was forced through the House of Commons, but rejected by the Lords.

[1] This gave elective self-government to rural parishes and districts.

In 1894 Gladstone's ill-health compelled him to retire. The Queen invited Lord Rosebery to take his place, but his Ministry only lasted a year. Its notable achievements were the proclamation of a protectorate over Uganda and the imposition of a graduated scale of death duties by Sir William Harcourt.

In 1895 Lord Salisbury formed his third and last Ministry. It lasted seven years and was ended only by the Prime Minister's retirement through ill-health. Its interest is almost entirely foreign and colonial. Lord Salisbury himself was Foreign Secretary until he gave the post to the Marquess of Lansdowne in 1900. His administration combined Conservatives such as Mr. A. J. Balfour (First Lord of the Treasury) and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach (Chancellor of the Exchequer) and Liberal-Unionists such as Mr. Joseph Chamberlain (Colonial Secretary) and Mr. G. J. Goschen (First Lord of the Admiralty).

§ 311. **The Scramble for Africa.**—During the past twenty years the most striking feature of the world's history has been the "expansion of Europe." The assertion of the "Monroe Doctrine"[1] by America prevented the nations of Europe from acquiring fresh territory in America, so the struggle for power was confined to parts of Asia, Africa, and the Pacific. After 1884 African developments fall into three well-marked geographical groups: North-East Africa, West Africa, and South Africa. Germany tried to supplant Portugal in North-East Africa as well as in Damaraland. This attempt excited the alarm of British missionaries in Zanzibar and of British merchants in Uganda. The difficulty was settled in 1890 by an *Anglo-German Agreement*, which secured to Great

[1] The "Monroe Doctrine" brought Great Britain and the United States to the verge of war in 1895 over the disputed boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela.

Britain the Protectorate of Zanzibar and Uganda in return for the cession of Heligoland to Germany.

It was partly because Great Britain had secured control not only of the mouth but also of the sources of the Nile, that the conquest of the intermediate region was undertaken. Lord Cromer restored Egyptian finances to a condition which enabled them to bear the strain, and Sir Herbert Kitchener, the Sirdar of the Egyptian army, prepared his troops to face the Dervishes, as the fanatical followers of the Kalifa, the successor of the Mahdi, were called. In 1896 the Egyptian frontier was advanced southwards to Dongola, and two years later the Dervishes were decisively defeated at the Atbara and at Omdurman. In 1899 an *Anglo-French Agreement* settled the respective spheres of influence of England and France in North-East Africa.

In West Africa Great Britain also came into contact and sometimes almost into conflict with Germany and France. The British traders of the "Royal Niger Company" had difficulties with both the native chiefs and German claims; but their most serious troubles were due to the desire of the French officers to create a continuous colonial empire stretching from Algeria to the Guinea coast and behind Lake Tchad to the French Congo Territory. These difficulties were settled by the Anglo-French Agreements of 1890 and 1899, and in 1901 the British Government took the administration of Nigeria out of the hands of the Niger Company.

In South Africa there was a possibility of an alliance between Germany and the Transvaal. Had it taken place it would have prevented the expansion of British South Africa northwards. The Transvaal was extending beyond the limits fixed for it by treaty, but was checked in 1885 as a result of the expedition of Sir Charles Warren, who annexed Bechuanaland. An eastern extension of the

Transvaal into Zululand was, however, recognised as a "New Republic," but it was not allowed to reach the sea. Boer extension northward was practically prevented by the establishment in 1889 of the "British South Africa Company," the creation of Cecil Rhodes. The Company acquired exclusive rights of mining from Lobengula, King of the Matabele. Later it became involved in difficulties with Portugal, but these were terminated by the *Anglo-Portuguese Agreement* of 1891. In 1893 it fought the First Matabele War. For a time it acquired control of the vast region north of the Zambesi, and all this territory became known as Rhodesia.

§ 312. **The Boer Republics and the Boer War.**—The prospects of British South Africa were still imperilled by the neighbourhood of the two Boer Republics and of German territories in East and West. Three powerful men in South Africa had each planned out a scheme for the future. Cecil Rhodes, who was Prime Minister of Cape Colony from 1890-1896, appears to have worked towards a self-governing federation of all British and Boer territories under the British flag. The plan of Jan Hofmeyr, a Cape Dutchman who directed the Africander League, was similar, except that the Dutch rather than the British element was to be predominant. Kruger, President of the Transvaal, an old man who had taken part in the Great Trek, hated everything British. After the discovery of gold in the Transvaal he seems to have thought that its increasing wealth would make a wholly independent Dutch South Africa possible.

In the meantime he kept the immigrant mining population of Johannesburg (Uitlanders or Outlanders) from sharing the political power of the Dutch farmers. The Outlanders asked for what they considered their civil rights and fair taxation. Failing to get any concessions they plotted an armed rising in Johannesburg with the help of Cecil

Rhodes, then Prime Minister of Cape Colony. The result was a raid from Mafeking led by Dr. Jameson. It was crushed at Krugersdorp on New Year's Day, 1896. Cecil Rhodes resigned, and the British Government denied all responsibility for the Jameson Raid. But it was not believed, and the Boers began to arm themselves for a struggle.

Negotiations between Kruger, Steyn (President of the Orange Free State), and Sir Alfred Milner (High Commissioner for South Africa) took place in 1899 at Bloemfontein, but failed. Both sides then prepared for war. The Boer Republics sent a joint ultimatum requiring Great Britain to send no further reinforcements to South Africa, and on her refusal invaded Natal and the Cape Colony. The Boers wasted time in besieging Ladysmith, Kimberley, and Mafeking. The British general, Sir Redvers Buller, weakened his troops by division and suffered defeat in every quarter. The Government thereupon sent out large forces, both regular and volunteer, from all parts of the Empire, under Lord Roberts and Lord (formerly Sir Herbert) Kitchener. In February they relieved Kimberley and captured a large force under Cronje at Paardeberg, while Buller, about the same time, relieved Ladysmith. Mafeking was relieved later, Bloemfontein and Pretoria were captured, and the Transvaal was formally annexed in September 1900. But it took Lord Kitchener two years more to make the Boers agree to peace.

§ 313. **Turkey, India, China, and the "Australian Commonwealth."**—The mutual jealousies of the European Powers kept them from effectively protecting the Armenians against Turkey in 1895, and when, two years later, Greece took up arms for Crete, Europe merely interfered to save Greece from destruction. In India, Great Britain, inspired by dread of Russian invasion, strengthened her north-west frontier; and on the eastern side she annexed Burmah and concluded an agreement with France about

Siam. In 1895 the Powers took advantage of a war between China and Japan. Russia secured the right to build the Pacific end of her great Trans-Siberian railway across Manchuria, and later a lease of the important fortress of Port Arthur; Germany acquired the port of Kiao-Chau and commercial rights in its neighbourhood; and Great Britain obtained the lease of Wei-hai-wei.

But on the whole Great Britain and the United States have tried to prevent the partition of the Chinese Empire. The Chinese Government, however, irritated by the interference of the Europeans in China and by the activity of their missionaries, instigated an anti-foreign "Boxer" rising, which broke out in the summer of 1900. The European colony in Peking was besieged in the British Legation for nearly two months. It was finally relieved by a joint force of Europeans, Japanese, and Americans.

The growing interests of European Powers in the Pacific were the chief cause of the movement in favour of Australian, or even Australasian, federation, which culminated in the *Australian Commonwealth Act* of 1900. Australia received a federal constitution and the new Commonwealth was formally inaugurated in the following year. In January 1901 the great Queen laid down the sceptre which she had held for sixty-four years and passed to a well-earned rest.

Chronology of Chief Events.

First Salisbury Ministry.	1885.	Anglo-French Agreement.	1899.
Burmah annexed.	1886.	Boer War.	1899-1902.
Gladstone's Third Ministry.	,,	Relief of Kimberley.	1900.
Second Salisbury Ministry.	,,	Battle of Paardeberg.	,,
Local Government Act.	1888.	Relief of Ladysmith.	,,
Free Education Act.	1891.	Bloemfontein taken.	,,
Gladstone's Fourth Ministry.	1892-4.	Pretoria taken.	,,
Lord Rosebery's Ministry.	1894-5.	Annexation of South African Republics.	,,
Third Salisbury Ministry.	1895.	Chinese War.	,,
Battle of Omdurman.	1898.	Australian Commonwealth Act.	,,

CHAPTER XXXI.

The Growth of Democracy, 1901-1910.

Albert Edward, eldest son of Queen Victoria, was born 1841, succeeded 1901; married the Princess Alexandra of Denmark 1861; died 1910.

For Contemporary Sovereigns see Chapter XXVI.

§ 314. **Foreign Policy, 1901-1910.**—During the South African War there had been more than one rumour that the Continental Powers proposed to combine in order to force England to come to terms with the Boers, and the feeling of hostility to this country in most of Europe was intense. Englishmen realised that they were in a position of dangerous isolation in face of an unfriendly continent. The nine years of King Edward's reign witnessed a complete change in this respect. Lord Lansdowne (1901-1905) and Sir E. Grey (1906-1910) formed a series of alliances, *ententes*, and arbitration treaties with the great powers, while the King himself, by his conciliating manners, personal influence, and abounding hospitality, did much to strengthen the policy of his ministers.

The chief of these agreements, all aiming at the maintenance of peace, are: (1) the *Anglo-Japanese Alliance* (1902) for the maintenance of the status quo in the Far East: it was probably the existence of this alliance that prevented the war between Russia and Japan from expanding into a European War; (2) the *Anglo-French Agreement* (1904), settling the differences of France and England in Morocco, Egypt, Newfoundland, and Madagascar; (3) the *Anglo-Japanese Treaty* (1905), by which either Power should help the other in case of unprovoked aggression; (4) *the Anglo-Russian Convention* (1907), defining spheres of influence in Persia.

But a list of treaties gives only a faint impression of the great work that has been done during recent years in settling existing disputes, removing causes of quarrel, and promoting friendly feeling among the nations. In one case only—Germany—does any serious possibility of friction remain; and even here the efforts of King Edward and his ministers on the part of England, and of Kaiser William II. on the part of Germany, have done much to quiet the passions stirred up by irresponsible politicians and newspapers.

§ 315. **Colonial Affairs.**—The help given by our colonies in the South African War had strengthened the affection between them and the Mother-country. One result of this was a large increase of immigration into Canada and the formation of two new provinces, Alberta and Saskatchewan. Another was the bringing into existence of periodic Colonial Conferences, consisting of the English Premier and Colonial Secretary and of delegates from the self-governing colonies. The first met in 1902, the year of King Edward's Coronation, and one, specially summoned, was held in 1907. These meetings will be repeated in future every four years. In South Africa self-government was given to the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, and later all the colonies in South Africa were federated into a commonwealth on the Canadian model (1909) under the name of the Union of South Africa. In two parts of the Empire—in Egypt, which has practically been an English Protectorate since 1882, and in India—there have been seditious agitations, caused by nationalist movements; but in both the Government has taken measures to maintain order.

§ 316. **Home Affairs, Unionist Government 1900-1905.**—The Salisbury Government was supported by a large majority at the General Election of 1900, held soon after the capture of Pretoria. In 1901 it passed a measure of

social reform—an Act prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors in open vessels to children under 14 years of age. In 1902 Lord Salisbury resigned owing to ill-health and Mr. Balfour became Prime Minister. In the same year an *Education Act* reorganised the system of education in England, establishing a single authority in each county or county borough to control elementary, secondary, and technical education. A clause of the Act which gave help from the rates to denominational schools caused much discontent among Nonconformists, many of whom refused to pay the rate.

In 1903 Mr. Chamberlain resigned his Colonial Secretaryship in order that he might carry on in the country a propaganda for a reformed tariff with preferential treatment for the Colonies. The new Tariff Reform doctrines alarmed the Free Traders of the Cabinet, and they too resigned, leaving Mr. Balfour to carry on the government with a sadly mutilated Cabinet. In 1904 an Ordinance was passed for the importation of unskilled Chinese labour into the Transvaal—a measure which lost the Government much of its support from the working classes. In the same year a *Licensing Act* was passed with the object of reducing gradually the number of licensed houses. In 1905 the *Aliens Act* was passed to prevent the landing of undesirable foreigners; and at the end of the same year Mr. Balfour, feeling that his party was only lukewarm in his support, and that he could not carry on the government without a united party behind him, resigned office, and was succeeded by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. In January 1906 a general election returned only 158 Conservatives to 512 supporters of a Liberal Government. Among the latter were, for the first time, a number of members returned definitely as representatives of Labour.

§ 317. **The Liberal Government 1906-1910.**—The new government, led by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman 1906-

1908, and by Mr. Asquith 1908-1910, remained in office during the rest of the King's reign. The chief measures for which it has been responsible are an important extension of the Workmen's Compensation Act (1906); an Act allowing local authorities to provide meals for school children (1906); the reform of the Army, which now consists of a regular force of 160,000 men and of a second volunteer force of 300,000 men organised on a Territorial basis (1907); an Old Age Pension Act, giving pensions of not more than 5s. a week to poor persons over seventy years of age (1908); a *Trades Disputes Act*, strengthening the legal position of Trade Unions (1906); and a *Coal Mines Act*, establishing an 8½ hours' day in coal mines (1908).

An Education Bill, proposing to make the organisation of elementary education more national and less denominational, was so changed by the Lords that the Government abandoned it (1906); and a Licensing Bill that proposed greater restrictions on the liquor traffic was rejected altogether by the Peers (1908). During these years the Conservative party, under Mr. Balfour's lead, had almost healed its internal divisions, and was united in support of a Tariff Reform Policy.

§ 318. **The Constitutional Crisis, 1909 - 1910.** — The Budget of 1909, introduced by Mr. Lloyd-George, sought to provide for the increased expenditure due to the Old Age Pensions by imposing additional taxes on land. The Conservatives maintained that these financial changes were too great to be made before the electors had had an opportunity of expressing their opinion on them. Acting on this view, the House of Lords—which had already caused the failure of the Education Bill of 1906 and the Licensing Bill of 1908—refused to pass the Finance Bill until the electors were consulted.

The Liberals maintained that this action of the Lords

was unconstitutional and appealed to the country. Two questions were put prominently forward during the election by the Liberals—the desirability of the new taxes, and the necessity of legally abolishing the power of the Lords in finance and of restricting it in other legislation. The Conservatives, on the other hand, advocated Tariff Reform and supported the action of the Lords. The elections, held in January 1910, resulted in a great reduction of the enormous Government majority. Liberals and Conservatives were nearly equal in number, but Mr. Asquith could rely on the support of about 40 Labour members and 80 Irish members. With their help the Finance Bill of 1909, with some slight alterations, was passed through the Commons, and this time the Lords passed the bill.

The Government proposals for dealing with the Lords were discussed first as Resolutions, and then framed into a Bill. Its clauses would deprive the House of Lords of all power in financial measures, and would limit the power of that body in general legislation. The resolutions were strenuously opposed in the Commons by the Conservatives; and while the Commons were thus engaged the Lords passed a number of resolutions introduced by Lord Rosebery declaring the need of reform of their own House and of making it better fitted to discharge the functions of a second chamber.

The rival Houses with their rival policies were thus prepared to join battle on the question, when the sudden death of King Edward called a truce. It was generally felt that the Ministers could not decently ask a new king in the first months of his reign to create a sufficient number of peers to force the Government's proposals through the House of Lords. It was agreed that a Conference of party leaders should be held to see if some compromise could be arranged, and that Parliament

should in the meantime employ itself with less contentious matters.

§ 319. **Death of King Edward.**—The death of King Edward, after a brief illness, came as a sudden blow to a nation to whom he had endeared himself by his work for international peace, by his interest in all that concerned the welfare of his subjects, and by his never failing tact and consideration (April 1910).

Chronology of Chief Events.

Intoxicating Liquors Act.	1901.	Education Bill dropped, owing to action of Lords.	1906.
Balfour Administration.	1902.	Army Reform.	1907.
Anglo-Japanese Alliance.	,,	Anglo-Russian Convention.	,,
Peace in South Africa.	,,	Asquith Administration.	1908.
Education Act.	,,	Old Age Pensions Act.	,,
Formation of Tariff Reform League.	1903.	Coal Mine Act.	,,
Anglo-French Agreement.	1904.	Licensing Bill rejected by Lords.	,,
Anglo-Japanese Treaty.	1905.	Budget rejected by Lords.	1909.
Aliens Act.	,,	General Election: Reduced Liberal majority.	1910.
Campbell-Bannerman Administration.	,,	Constitutional Crisis.	,,
General Election: Great Liberal majority.	1906.		

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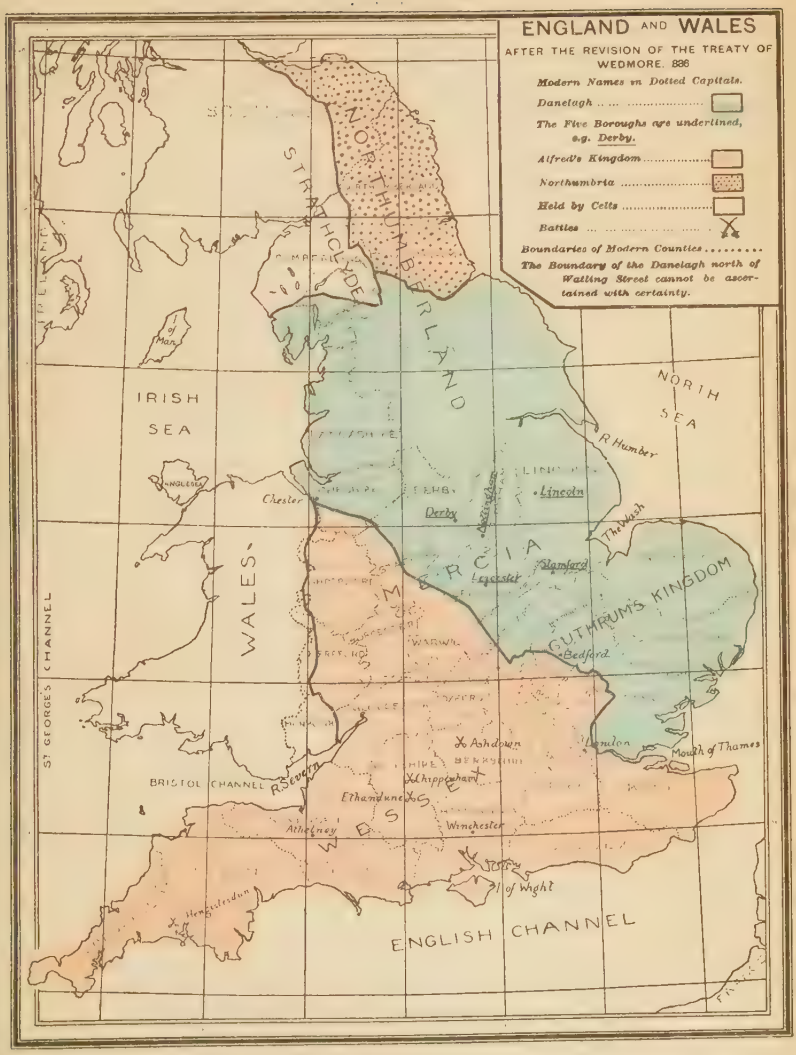
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